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The Nation.

January 21, 1984 $1.25; U.K. 65p

EDITORIAL

KISSINGER'S FOLLIES

The Kissinger commission's report pretends to offer solutions to the several crises in Central America, but it fails utterly to recognize its own part in the problem. The very concept of the commission as a political fix, its construction as a center-right coalition and its charter to secure Central America for U.S. national security interests killed from the start any hope that its recommendations could change the Reagan Administration's fruitless policies.

The report casts the conflicts in Central America in terms of Soviet subversion, and places military pacification before programs of reform and development. It glosses over our long history of intervention, political domination and economic exploitation of the region in a few paragraphs, and it simply assumes that Central America is a natural and permanent part of the U.S. imperial system.

The commission offers some sops to liberal good intentions. Over Henry Kissinger's principled dissent, it suggests that the United States encourage protection of human rights, and it proposes a big aid package to be opened on the distant day when revolution, insurgency, the Sandinistas and similar disturbances are destroyed. Several of the commission's twelve members take exception to one or another point. But the burden of the report is illiberal and immoderate, and President Reagan will now use it for his own worst purposes.

The gravest folly of the Kissinger commission was to suppose that the Central American crises can be solved without major changes in North American attitudes, politics and policies. Next week, *The Nation* will publish a special issue, examining the conflicts and problems of the region and providing useful documents for redirecting the disastrous course that Kissinger and Reagan want to stay.

THE A.T.&T. BREAKUP
Herman Schwartz

LEGAL ARMS FOR APARTHEID
Thomas Conrad

ALL-WHITE JURIES
Paula DiPerna

EISENSTEIN & THE SOVIET CINEMA
Karen Rosenberg

'WORKING CLASS HERO'
Michael Kazin

BOB MARLEY
George DeStefano

SIDESHOW IN CHAD

THE SECRET WAR AGAINST QADDAFI

JAY PETERZELL

Libyan troops control half the Central African nation of Chad and will continue to do so, partially as a result of a covert paramilitary operation begun in 1981 by the Central Intelligence Agency. Details of that strikingly unsuccessful attempt to "bloody Libya's nose" were provided recently in a score of interviews with current and former Administration officials, Congressional sources and African diplomats, many of whom spoke on the condition that they not be identified. Their accounts make Chad seem like a showcase for that combination of toughness and ineffectiveness, obsession and inattention that has often characterized the Reagan Administration's style in foreign policy.

The covert action was predictably counterproductive, several officials concede. It consisted mainly of secretly supplying funds and military equipment to the forces of Hissen Habré, then fighting to overthrow a Libyan-backed coalition government led by President Goukouni Oueddei. But there was a hitch: if Habré came to power, the factions he replaced might turn to Libya and attempt to reverse his victory, with direct Libyan support, if necessary.

"It certainly showed signs of being a hasty, shortsighted and something of a counterproductive policy," said one official closely involved with U.S. policy toward Chad at the time. "We thought we were setting Qaddafi back by opposing him militarily. But in fact, because the instrument through which we were trying to act was not controllable, our proxy did things that provoked Qaddafi and now he sits occupying half of Chad."

(*Continued on Page 48*)

LETTERS.

CATHOLIC SENSIBILITIES

Worcester, Mass.

It's a pity that *The Nation* cannot distinguish between satire and blatant anti-Catholicism. Edward Sorel's cartoon is a sad example of the latter ["Vatican Issues Sex Guidelines," Dec. 17].

I am forced to suggest to all my students and their friends, and to their parents and their parents' friends, that they boycott *The Nation* unless it issues an apology to Catholics for this crudity.

I shall miss *The Nation* and its attempts at serious political commentary.

When will secular socialists recognize that some of their staunchest political allies come from within the Roman Catholic community whose religious sensibilities they seem to seek so often to offend?

Robert E. Manning, S.J.
Rector, College of the Holy Cross

WISHING ON A 'STAR'

Katha Pollitt is distressingly naïve if she thinks that Bob Fosse's *Star 80* "comes down hard on *Playboy*" ["Films," *The Nation*, Dec. 17]. Is she, I wonder, aware of the fact that the January issue of *Playboy* contains a ten-page photo spread on the making of *Star 80*—which includes several nude shots of Mariel Hemingway? If Hugh Hefner was devastated by Fosse's alleged attack, he has an unusual way of showing it. *Elmer Edwards*

POLLITT A PLEASURE

New York City

This is just a note to say that I enjoyed reading Katha Pollitt's review of Bob Fosse's *Star 80*. Sometimes Pollitt adopts too glib a tone—perhaps she is rebelling against what she takes to be the excesses of a Pauline Kael, or the moral rigor mortis of most academic critics. Maybe she thinks of herself as a Wordsworthian at heart—the woman on the street, only more sensitive than most, more attuned to her own feelings and to language. Whatever accounts for those moments when I wish she would take her voice (and us) more seriously, they only slightly diminish my pleasure in reading her work. In her review there is a fine quality of clear-sightedness; and if she dismisses the film (which it thoroughly deserves, although it is by no means a trivial matter to do so), she does so with a sureness of touch—definitively, intelligently, without mere obstinacy. Thanks. *Jessica Lane*

FROM ONE HOOSIER TO ANOTHER

Fairfield, Me.

Kurt Vonnegut continues to be one of my favorite novelists, but his "The Worst Addiction of Them All" [*The Nation*, Dec. 31-Jan. 7] clearly reveals he should spare his admiring public from exposure to his private and highly ad hominem views on "nuclear addicts." To reduce the *systemic* reasons for the American penchant for electing "war-preparers" to the latter's individual neuroses or pathological addictions diverts attention from the more relevant historical reasons for the garrison-state mentality that plagues official and unofficial American thinking. If Americans are guilty of various addictions, then certainly those are the addictions to the power, privilege and wealth that have for so long informed our defense and national insecurity policy. Nukes, unfortunately, are simply regarded by policy makers as one of the better weapons to "deter" or threaten those nations whose ideologies and actions would divest the United States of the fruits of its multinational corporations and its military aggrandizement.

Humor has its place, but not in this regard, thank you. As a fellow displaced Hoosier whose world view (if my neighbors are correct) is a black comedic one attributable to too many years of living in America's middle earth, I recall with vast appreciation Vonnegut's ethical suicide parlors and Kilgore Trout's hapless pursuit of an ethical life. My advice to Vonnegut, assuming he cares, is to stick with the monkey houses, or to get back to Indiana for a (brief) visit (the two are probably the same), but stay ye away from the deadly serious topic of nukes. *Roger Bowen*

IN PRAISE OF WORKER BUY-OUTS

Arlington, Va.

Don Goldstein's "Saving Jobs, But at What Price?" [*The Nation*, Dec. 10] presents an unduly glum view of the worker buy-out of National Steel's plant in Weirton, West Virginia. First, most employee ownership plans are not buy-outs of failing companies—in fact, only 1 percent are. Second, even among that 1 percent, 90 percent have succeeded (fifty-nine of sixty-five cases in the last decade). In almost every case, observers have made equally glum assessments of the company's prospects. But companies with employee ownership plans are substantially more profitable and productive, and create more new jobs than comparable conventional firms. Finally, in Weirton's case, the plant was not losing money before 1983, although its profits were very small. It lost money in 1983 but would have made some had it been eligible for the Federal tax incentives employee ownership provides.

Goldstein's article correctly points out that workers will not be able to control their firm for five years. In the interim they will have board representation; and five years is not a long time. How many other companies can claim a similar level of worker control?

Goldstein also contends that workers will vote their stock based on how many shares they own, and that stock will be allocated according to salary. In fact, on almost all issues workers will vote on a one-person, one-vote basis, and where that is prohibited by Federal law, issues will be decided by a two-thirds majority. If the Weirton plant succeeds even modestly, each worker will own $50,000 to $100,000 or more in stock.

Goldstein seems to think that National Steel should have been forced to continue to operate the mill for the benefit of the workers, even though he does not think there is much of a market for the plant's steel. Under those circumstances, workers would have no say in the company, and no ownership. In all likelihood, such a scheme would work only if the government (supported by taxpayers making, for the most part, less than Weirton's workers) decided to subsidize National. Is that a realistic solution? Employee ownership has been tried, and it has worked. Weirton employees are indeed taking a risk, but it is a risk that can gain them much more than they had under National.

Corey Rosen, Executive Directo
National Center for Employee Ownershi

A CALL FOR THE 'CENSORED'

Rohnert Park, Calif.

Nation readers are invited to participate in national media research project to compil The Ten Best Censored Stories of 198 Readers can help the public learn mor about what is happening in society by nom nating stories that they feel should have r ceived more coverage in the mass media.

To be considered, a story should be cu rent and of national social significance. may have received no media coverage, a peared in the back pages of a newspaper in a small circulation magazine. The deadli for nominations for the eighth annual effo of Project Censored is February 1. To nom nate a "censored" story of 1983, send a co of the story, including the source and dat to Carl Jensen, Project Censored, Sonon State University, Rohnert Park, Cal 94928. *Carl Jens*

DORMAN CORRECTS

Sacramento, Calif.

I'd like to set the record straight about reference to John B. Oakes of *The N York Times* in an article of mine that peared in *The Nation* some time ago ["I the Aspen Institute 'Front' for the Shah June 20, 1981]. I wrote that Oakes, amc other prominent Americans and Europea had attended a 1975 conference in Iran w "all expenses paid" by the host countr have recently learned that *The Times* paic Oakes's expenses. I sincerely regret the e and any embarrassment this may have cat Oakes. *William A. Dor*

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EDITORIALS.

Sick Fathers

The ghastly celebration of what seemed like National Incest Week began early, with news reports of 12-year-old "Amy" being sentenced to jail in California for contempt of court, after refusing to testify in a family sexual molestation case. Amy's alleged tormentor was her stepfather, not a blood relative, so the act was not technically incestuous. But it was easy for strict definitions to get lost in the flood of publicity and promotion for ABC's made-for-TV movie *Something About Amelia*, which took for its theme the last taboo. Amy and Amelia jointly embody 1984's first problem-of-the-week.

Both cases tell us a lot about American sexual mores and judicial procedures in a deeply confused decade. *Amelia* dealt delicately with a father's moody sexual maladjustment and its eventual expression in an aggressive act against his daughter. But for all its delicacy and sympathy, the film suggested that incest is a personal psychological condition unconnected to the tempestuous sexual politics raging in the larger social setting. The solution in such a formulation is therapy—counseling, psychiatry, doctoring.

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That ignores the undeniable reality that personal problems are also social issues. Incest doesn't hit a family like the flu. Ninety-nine percent of the cases involve Dad or another adult man, experts say, and along with sadism, chauvinism and old-fashioned machismo, it is part of the torn fabric of male sexuality. Counseling may be useful in individual cases, but ultimately the problem cannot be treated without joining the struggles taking place on the great sexual battlegrounds.

In Amy's case, counseling proved disastrous. Her mother and stepfather (a doctor) had sought help from psychiatric professionals who, under a recently enacted California law, were obliged to report the family to the authorities. The police moved in, and when Amy would not testify in a court hearing, the judge locked her up for nine days, in a sparsely furnished room measuring 4 feet by 8 feet, with a television set. The Solano County prosecutor explained, "She had been told to go to her room, as society requires of her, until she tells the truth." Only a habeas corpus writ freed her in time for ABC's movie-of-the-week which, in any case, she could have seen on the television set in her cell while she was doing prime time.

Purging the Past

Buenos Aires

President Raúl Alfonsín, who took office vowing to punish those responsible for the "disappearances" of an estimated 30,000 Argentines, now finds himself opposed by the powerful human rights movement here. Two measures he announced for cleansing the stain of repression from the nation's soul were criticized by human rights groups, who contend that the President has made concessions to the military.

On December 13, Alfonsín ordered the indictment of nine members of the first three military juntas to rule Argentina following the March 1976 coup. Two days later, he appointed a presidential commission to investigate the fate of the missing. Although his announcements drew praise abroad, the human rights community here found them all style and no substance.

At a press conference on December 21, Emilio Mignone, president of the Center for Social and Legal Studies, one of Argentina's eight human rights groups, accused Alfonsín of seeking to limit investigation of the crimes of the past. His proposals, Mignone said, provide only a small role for the government's legislative and judicial branches, and thus reduce the likelihood of a full-scale probe.

Mignone also argued that the trials of the nine junta members should be heard by civilian courts rather than by military tribunals. "The credibility of democracy is at stake," he said. "People know what military justice has meant, and they can't believe in it. Given our recent history, potential witnesses will be afraid to give evidence implicating members of the military before a court-martial."

The debate heated up after the President appointed his commission. Alfonsín's plan had been devised by conservatives in the Radical Party as a way to undercut a proposed legislative investigative commission, which they believed would be more difficult for the President to control. Alfonsín's announcement came the day before legislators led by Christian Democratic Representative Augusto Comte had planned to call for a special session of Congress to discuss the legislative commission.

The Comte group envisioned a commission that would work closely with human rights activists to gather evidence on the crimes committed by the military during the so-called dirty war, and would turn its findings over to the judicial branch. But Alfonsín considered that approach a needless provocation of the military. His advisers feared that such a body would generate a series of scandals, causing further turmoil in the barracks. They said that it would have become highly politicized, and thus less effective.

Sixteen prominent Argentines were appointed to the presidential commission, including members of the human rights community such as writer Ernesto Sabato and Rabbi Marshall Meyer. But several others, including Comte and 1980 Nobel Peace laureate Adolfo Perez Esquivel, refused to serve. Perez Esquivel said, "The policies adopted by the armed forces should be judged by those who received the popular mandate," the newly elected members of Congress. He also criticized the fact that Alfonsín's commission has a life of only six months and that its conclusions will officially close the book on the "disappeared."

Alfonsín's supporters argue that a balance must be struck between ethical and pragmatic considerations. While they agree with the human rights groups that the atrocities of the past should not go unpunished, they fear "going too far" and alienating the military. "The objective is to disband the repressive apparatus," said one Radical Party official, "not to disband the security forces, with whom we have to coexist."

But on the other side, many feel that coexistence will require civilians to make too many concessions. Physicist and human rights activist José Federico Westerkamp says, "I believe that one way or another both of Alfonsín's first moves were products of negotiations with the military. I see this as unnecessary and harmful."

Alfonsín has established three levels of guilt for crimes committed under military rule. They have generated considerable controversy because they distinguish between those who made policy and gave orders, those who carried out orders but committed excesses and those who simply did what they were told. Prosecution under category one has begun with the nine junta leaders, but what the government will do about the accused in the remaining categories is unclear.

Mignone points out that there is no legal basis for exempting small fry who were "just obeying orders." To do so would amount to accepting the military's explanation of the repression: the crimes were "acts of service carried out with orders from above." Mignone asked wryly if former Police Chief Ramon Camps, who once boasted that he was responsible for the deaths of 5,000 of the missing, would be exculpated because, shortly after Alfonsín took office, he appeared on television and said that he, too, had merely been following orders.

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All parties in this thorny debate are treading warily. After seven years of authoritarian rule, Argentines have lost the habit of democratic decision-making and that has made them vulnerable to perhaps unfounded fears that the controversy will destabilize the government. While they differ on how to proceed and how far to go, all are agreed that they must take advantage of the military's current disarray and move quickly to bring it under civilian control. Argentines have a historic opportunity, and what they do could have profound effect on the role of the military elsewhere in Latin America.

PATRICIA PITTMAN

Patricia Pittman is a freelance writer based in Buenos Aires.

Is It a Life?

For the past several months, a baby girl known only as Baby Jane Doe has been the subject of intense controversy in the media, in medical journals and in the courts. Baby Jane was born with a variety of medical problems, including an open spinal column, fluid on the brain, an abnormally small head and an underdeveloped brain. After consulting a variety of physicians, friends and clergy, her parents decided against allowing doctors at University Hospital at Stony Brook, on Long Island, to perform surgery to close the hole in her back and help drain some of the fluid off her brain.

An anonymous informant telephoned Lawrence Washburn, a right-to-life attorney in another state, whose self-avowed specialty is litigation on behalf of newborns. Washburn filed suit in New York State Supreme Court with the aim of forcing the surgery to be undertaken. The judge dismissed Washburn's suit because he lacked standing, but appointed another right-to-life lawyer, William Weber, to act as the child's guardian ad litem. After hearings, Weber was empowered to make medical decisions for Baby Jane.

Learning that a stranger had suddenly appeared with the authority to overrule their decisions concerning their baby, the parents appealed the lower court's action to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court. The Appellate Division overturned the Supreme Court's ruling, holding that the parents had made an informed choice in deciding on a conservative form of treatment for Baby Jane. Weber appealed to the New York State Court of Appeals, which ruled that the Supreme Court had erred both in appointing Weber to argue on behalf of Baby Jane and in considering the case.

At that point the Federal government intervened, invoking Section 504 of the 1973 Rehabilitation Act, which forbids discrimination against the handicapped. The government went to Federal court, demanding to see the medical records in the case to establish whether Baby Jane had been the victim of discrimination.

The Baby Jane Doe case is not just another example of New Right yahooism. It has a direct bearing on important social issues: abortion, parental rights, family privacy, control over one's own body. Moreover the case has spawned a new political alliance that is inimical to the interests of all Americans, including those born with severe congenital birth defects.

Some civil libertarians have found Baby Jane Doe's cause irresistible. The indignation of *Village Voice* columnist Nat Hentoff, for example, spilled over into several columns as he chastised fellow liberals for their indifference to the civil liberties issues in the case. "As a person under the Constitution," he wrote, "has Baby Jane Doe no rights of her own to live as long as she can? No due-process rights? No rights to equal protection under the law?"

It goes without saying that no infant should be denied medical care because it is handicapped. But the Baby Jane Doe case is not an example of discrimination against the handicapped. The question is whether medical treatment would be successful or would simply prolong the child's suffering.

Difficult and terrible judgments are required to determine if medical intervention to save a child's life would doom that child to a life that was not worth living. But the fact that such judgments are difficult and terrible does not mean that they should not be made. In deciding whether aggressive medical action is warranted, the right to life must be weighed against the quality of that life.

A variety of afflictions cause children extraordinary pain and suffering. Among those are genetic conditions like Lesch-Nyhan's syndrome, which causes babies literally to eat their flesh, Tay-Sachs disease, which causes neurological deterioration and a slow and painful death, and various chromosomal abnormalities, which can produce a child with no limbs, no control of bowel and bladder, or severe retardation. Modern medicine has the capacity to extend the lives of all children born with those problems. It also has the power to condemn them to a severely impaired and painful existence.

No one should be forced by the government, civil libertarians or right-to-lifers to live such a life, even briefly. All of us, including the very old and the very young, have a basic right to say no to aggressive medical treatment when that treatment is unlikely to do much good and is quite likely to cause great suffering.

Because Baby Jane Doe and others like her cannot exercise their right to say no to medical treatment, they may become the political pawns of those who believe that life begins at conception and ends at birth. Should they be unfortunate enough to live, their inability to communicate condemns many of them to often filthy and understaffed institutional cesspools for their own "best interests."

Children born with massive medical problems and defects are the victims of a severe disability—they cannot tell Surgeon General Everett Koop, Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds and the President of the United States to leave them alone. In that respect, they need help. If we fail to give it to them, any of us could become a victim of state-mandated medicine.

ARTHUR CAPLAN

Arthur Caplan is on the staff of the Hastings Center, a research institute that studies bioethics.

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SOVIETICUS.

STEPHEN F. COHEN

Yevgeny Gnedin, child of the Russian Revolution, died in Moscow on August 12, 1983, at the age of 84. Youthful revolutionary idealist, state official, Soviet diplomat in Nazi Germany, victim of Stalin's terror, hopeful survivor and dissident, his remarkable life reflected the cataclysmic political history of twentieth-century Russia. Gnedin's death occasioned no official Soviet obituaries—bureaucratic farewells issued for unbroken and unquestioning service to the state. Instead, a letter of appreciation, written by Moscow friends, has traveled slowly westward, as though burdened by its news: "You know who we have lost."

Much about Gnedin surprised people, including the circumstances of his birth. He was born in 1898 in Dresden, Germany, the son of the legendary "Parvus" (Alexander Helphand), who began political life as an influential Russian Marxist and who died in 1924 as a shadowy German financier and government adviser. Separated from Parvus in 1904, Gnedin's Russian mother took her son to Odessa, where he grew up in the tradition of the intelligentsia, a self-described "romantic revolutionary" torn between poetry and politics. He welcomed the Bolshevik victory in 1917, fought briefly on the side of the Reds in the civil war and afterward moved to Moscow. In 1922, his family connections and knowledge of German led him to a position in the Soviet foreign office.

In *Catastrophe and Rebirth*, his confessional memoirs written fifty years later and published abroad, Gnedin laments having identified his youthful idealism so fully with the new Soviet state and thus having served it so uncritically. His official career flourished, not only in the more liberal 1920s, when he headed the trade section and German desk of the foreign office, but even in the dangerous Stalinist 1930s. In 1931, he left diplomatic service for the higher political position of foreign editor of the government newspaper *Izvestia*. Presumably for that reason, he also joined the Communist Party.

As was true of so many decent people in the Soviet Union and in the West, Gnedin's misgivings about Stalin's brutal policies at home were overshadowed by the rise of Nazi Germany in 1933. Antifascism became his all-consuming cause, specifically the policy of collective security with Western democracies advocated by Maxim Litvinov, Soviet Foreign Minister and Gnedin's personal patron. In 1935, by order of the Politburo, Gnedin was made First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Berlin, where for two years he witnessed the secret diplomacy that led to the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939 and to World War II. While Litvinov pursued mutual security treaties with England and France, Stalin's private emissaries were already in Berlin with overtures to Hitler.

Meanwhile, almost all of Gnedin's fellow diplomats and journalists were being massacred in Stalin's terror. In 1937, he was recalled to Moscow to serve Litvinov as press chief of the foreign office. His duties included explaining to Western correspondents the Moscow purge trials and the arrests of the old Bolshevik elite. Gnedin's turn came in May 1939, a few days after Vyacheslav Molotov replaced Litvinov as Foreign Minister, and three months before Stalin made his pact with Hitler. Arrest brought a last official distinction: Stalin's police chief, Lavrenty Beria, personally supervised Gnedin's torture.

Millions of Soviet officials disappeared into Stalin's gulag, but Gnedin's experience was special. Despite repeated torture, he refused to "confess" or to testify falsely against anyone. And while perhaps 95 percent of those arrested in the 1930s perished, he survived sixteen years of prison, forced-labor camps and "eternal" exile. Exonerated and freed in 1955, he attributed his survival to a long process of "spiritual rebirth" in the gulag and to the tenacious loyalty of his wife and daughter.

Most survivors emerged from the gulag broken or cynical, but Gnedin remained alive to all the hopes and disappointments of post-Stalinist Russia. Encouraged by Nikita Khrushchev's de-Stalinization, he rejoined the Communist Party and became a regular contributor to the leading official journal of liberal reform, *Novy Mir*. Then, despite the gulag-bred "fear always in my bones," he was present at the birth of the dissident movement in the late 1960s, signing protests against Stalin's rehabilitation, new arrests and the invasion of Czechoslovakia. After 1970, he devoted his literary talents to the world of uncensored typescript literature known as *samizdat*, where his memoirs had a great impact on readers. Four years before his death, he resigned from the party, a rare act of protest in the Soviet Union.

But these bare facts do not fully explain the importance of Gnedin to the many Russians, especially the young, who flocked to him in his later years. For them the small, portly, white-haired man, whose almost angelic face bore no trace of bitterness and seemed strikingly younger than his years, was a living remnant of the old intelligentsia, a link to the martyred fathers they had never known and, above all, an exemplar. A young poet wrote, "My poem's hero, Gnedin/ Is a model and a marvel. . . . I fasten onto his tale. He teaches me serious business/And I am eager to learn."

Gnedin's tale, told poetically in his memoirs, describes the long process by which he came to feel personal responsibility and repentance for the Stalinist "catastrophe." His theme was the anguished twentieth-century conflict between idealistic ends and evil means. Unlike many Soviet dissidents, Gnedin preached no doctrines. He offered only the example of his own moral rebirth, achieved by "freeing myself from the psychology of the devoted state bureaucrat and dogmatist," and returning to the values of his youth.

Those values—tolerance, justice and personal decency—may be comfortable platitudes in a democratic society, but they remain difficult, radical individual strivings in the Soviet Union. Yevgeny Gnedin adhered to them faithfully for the rest of his life, a rare man even among dissidents. For the many people who gained historical understanding and personal courage from him, the letter from Moscow provides his rightful epitaph: "Without him, it will be harder to live."

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ARTICLES.

THE A.T.&T. BREAKUP

How Consumers Will Pay and Pay

HERMAN SCHWARTZ

The traditionally staid telephone industry is in a turmoil. The huge Bell system split into eight parts on January 1; competition has come to long-distance service and to equipment sales; the Federal Communications Commission has made decisions that could profoundly reshape rate structures; and Congress is likely to pass telephone legislation for the first time in fifty years, after it reconvenes on January 23. At stake are billions of dollars in potential profits for A.T.&T. in new lines of business, and continuing monopoly profits for the eight spun-off operating companies. Finally, millions of poor, elderly and/or handicapped Americans may lose vital telephone service, and many other people of modest means may undergo much hardship because of rising phone bills.

One of the most common myths about the Bell system breakup is that a reluctant A.T.&T. was forced into a disadvantageous settlement of the government's antitrust suit against it. "It wasn't our idea," complained A.T.&T. chairman Charles L. Brown. No matter whose idea it was, the deal between Brown and Assistant Attorney General William Baxter, chief of the Justice Department's antitrust division, plucked victory from defeat for Bell. It was a very good deal for A.T.&T. About to lose the suit and perhaps Bell Labs and Western Electric, its manufacturing arm, A.T.&T. emerged with a settlement that, as described by Dean Paul McAvoy, one of the corporation's economic advisers, enabled it to unload its "low-profit [local service] exchange operations, leaving it free to focus on competing in the long-distance and equipment markets," which will be profitable indeed. A.T.&T. also escaped from the states' regulatory arena, where consumer resistance to increasing rates is potent; so it is restrained only by the more permissive F.C.C. and by the competitive market, where its size and market share give it a tremendous advantage. In addition, the settlement released A.T.&T. from the restraints of a 1956 antitrust decree that had kept it out of the highly profitable markets in computers and enhanced services such as data storage and retrieval.

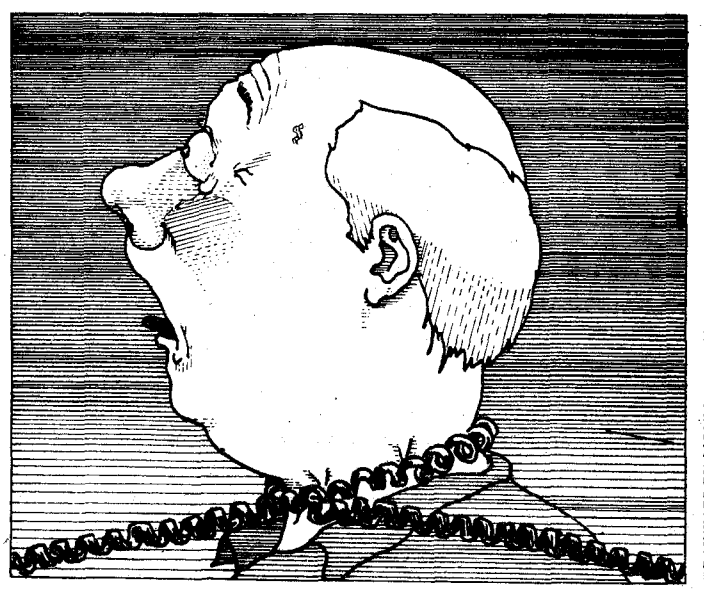
The divestiture is so sensible that the Japanese telephone system, structured like A.T.&T., is choosing to do the same thing. According to the president of the Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Company, it is simply "common sense" to get rid of local phone operations that are regulated and profit-limited and to concentrate on long distance and on telecommunications growth areas.

The immediate problem for consumers is, of course, the avalanche of rate increases levied by the local phone companies—more than $10 billion requested in 1983, and that's just the beginning. A.T.&T. and the F.C.C. reassure us that state regulators have been granting "only" 40 percent of the applications. That comes to "only" $4 billion, far more than what was requested just a few years ago, and in some states the proportion granted has been much higher (in Maryland, the figure is 70 percent).

The local companies are trying to blame the increases on the breakup of the Bell system; in fact, they are the culprits—"a little more greedy than they should be," Baxter acknowledged—along with the F.C.C. Within the last few years, the commission has acceded to A.T.&T.'s desire for maximum pricing flexibility in competitive markets like telephone equipment and long-distance service, and has issued three rulings that will cause the cost of local service to skyrocket: accelerated depreciation of phone equipment, immediate write-off of the wiring inside the consumer's business or residence and a flat monthly fee charged to all local users for access to the long-distance system, no matter how little they use that network.

Advanced telecommunications technologies—data transmission, cable, cellular radio, fiber optics, satellites—offer tremendous possibilities for a varied mix of new and old services. The spun-off companies want to get into the new areas, but that will require capital investment. Where else to get it but from the rate payer, through increased depreciation charges, which have been low until now. That is not unreasonable. If the rate payer is going to use technically advanced services, he or she should pay for them.

But which rate payer? Most of those services, such as high-speed data transmission, custom calling and the like will be utilized primarily by large businesses. The rest of us



DRAWINGS BY MONICA INCISA

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will require few of them but will still have to subsidize them. For example, the network is being made digital at enormous expense to accommodate high-speed data transmission. Yet for standard (voice) service the current technology, known as analog, will continue to be used. Digitalization will require conversion of each phone conversation from analog to digital and back to analog again, a totally unnecessary cost that will be slapped on all local users.

The claim has frequently been made that long-distance users have been paying excessive rates to subsidize local service. That is misleading. The costs of providing local voice service are quite low; it is the long-distance and newer services that are expensive. People who need only a Chevy are thus being forced to buy a Cadillac.

Bell and its friends have been propagating the subsidy myth for more than fifty years, ever since the Supreme Court ruled that local-service clients could not be forced to pay for the entire system. Despite wide acceptance of the subsidy claim, it remains unproved, as Judge Harold Greene, presiding in the A.T.&T. antitrust case, concluded. For one thing, much communications equipment is used for both local and long-distance service. Dividing the cost of those facilities among different services is necessarily arbitrary, and it is this arbitrary allocation that underlies the subsidy claim.

Moreover, prior to the divestiture, the operating companies had been paying A.T.&T. enormous sums in annual "license fees" for administrative assistance, patent licenses and almost all their legal and other services; they have also bought equipment from A.T.&T.'s subsidiary Western Electric. There is no reason to think that A.T.&T. had been charging bargain prices, since the operating companies provided a captive market of customers, to whom they could routinely pass along the high prices. And it is becoming clear that the quality of much of the Western Electric equipment has been inferior to that of its competitors, and is often grossly overpriced.

The subsidy myth pervades the access charge debate as well. In December 1982, the F.C.C. ruled that the $7 billion aggregate currently paid on a per-call basis by interstate long-distance users as their share of the fixed costs of the phone system should be shifted to local users on a flat-rate basis. The theory is that the local customers have to pay for those costs anyway, so the so-called marginal cost of long-distance callers using those facilities is zero. Ultimately that charge will amount to about $9 per line every month for access to the interstate long-distance network, and probably an additional monthly $6 to $9 per line for intrastate toll calls.

Those access charges are unfair and unnecessary, and they will cause great hardship. There is no evidence that long-distance service is overpriced, or that it has been impaired. In the recession years 1981 and 1982, the Bell system's revenues from toll calls jumped 28 percent, while the business of other long-distance carriers grew many times that. Even assuming there had been some subsidy from long distance to local, if it helped lower local rates and make universal service possible, it would have been one of the more useful subsidies among the many that pervade our economy.

Furthermore, at least 50 to 60 percent of residential customers and 75 percent of business users make few long-distance calls. Why should they pay a heavy charge for long-distance service? Conversely, why should long-distance users and the carriers get a free ride on the local system? The latter are making enormous profits, and the users most affected are businesses that can easily pass along the charges in negligible price increases. In gas, electricity and other utilities, the usage rates invariably include part of the fixed costs. Up to two years ago, everyone in the phone industry, including A.T.&T., thought cost-sharing made good sense. After all, if a college student drives home for Thanksgiving, isn't it only fair that his passengers share the costs, even if he would have driven home without them?

The F.C.C.'s marginal-cost pricing theory, on which its access charge proposal is based, is little more than blue smoke and mirrors. Regardless of whether the theory itself

WHAT TO DO

Consumers worried about rising phone costs can apply a variety of political and organizational strategies at the state and local levels:

§ Form coalitions of groups that represent the people who will be hit hardest by the access charge—minorities, the poor, women, the elderly, the handicapped, small-business owners.

§ Present your views to members of state regulatory commissions. Although regulatory law seems technical and abstruse, the basic issues—who pays and why—are not. Urge your mayor and other local officials to intervene in commission hearings on behalf of your town as a user of telephone services, and of individual users. Local governments, particularly the larger ones, employ full-time legal counsel and have the financial resources (or can pool their funds with other localities) to intervene in rate proceedings.

§ Lobby your representatives in state legislature and city councils. Members of the utility committees in state legislatures especially should be visited and bombarded with letters and phone calls. There is no reason they should be talking only to utility lobbyists. The same treatment should be given to members of Congress.

§ Support legislation to fund consumer intervention in rate proceedings through assessments against the utilities. Although the costs would be passed along to the consumers, they would amount to only a fraction of a cent per consumer, while the potential savings are many times greater.

For more information, write to me, c/o *The Nation*; to the Campaign for Affordable Phones, 215 Pennsylvania Avenue SE, Washington, D.C. 20003, (202) 546-4996; or to the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition, 2000 P Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036, (202) 775-0370. H.S.

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charge, the district attorney barred seven blacks in a row. In the second case, in which the defendant was accused of selling cocaine, a young black waiter was dismissed without cause, while a white of approximately the same age was accepted. Asked his occupation, the white said simply, "I work at the Club." Chances are he was a waiter too.

The jury selection in those cases were like hundreds that take place every day in the courts. Because jury selections cannot be effectively monitored, they are especially susceptible to manipulation. Indeed, many lawyers regard the selection process as a perfectly permissible way to stack a jury in their client's favor. But when the tactic is used to exclude members of minority groups, the privilege is abused.

The practice is most common in rural areas of the South, and the most frequent offenders are prosecuting attorneys. The defense attorney in the Brunswick murder trial, a white man, told me, "Usually the D.A.s use strikes for no reason other than that the jurors are minorities." The defense attorney in the cocaine case, who is black, said, "Blacks, Hispanics, Italians—they make good defense jurors, or at least that's what prosecutors think. Striking blacks is just standard practice." An attorney at the Southern Poverty Law Center in Montgomery, Alabama, said abuse of peremptories is "the most serious problem in jury selection in the South."

But the problem is not confined to the South. A judge in New York City told me he has observed prosecutors challenging blacks "all the time, for little reason." Nor are blacks the only minority excluded in this manner. A Hispanic attorney in San Antonio said that peremptory challenges of Hispanics were "given in every case I try. They even strike Hispanics if the defendant is Anglo and the attorney is Hispanic."

That this "racializing" of juries takes place in open court lends an illusion of fairness to a process that in fact reduces representative pools to unrepresentative juries. Jury service is every citizen's duty, but no one has a constitutional right to serve. However, members of minority groups should have the same right to perform civic functions as whites have, and defendants certainly have the right to a jury representative of the community.

The touchstone Supreme Court decision on the peremptory challenge issue is *Swain v. Alabama*. In that 1965 case, a black defendant who had been convicted of rape and sentenced to death by an all-white jury appealed the conviction because the prosecutor had summarily challenged all six of the blacks eligible to serve. In its decision, the Court stated that the peremptory system "provides justification for striking any group of otherwise qualified jurors in any given case whether they be Negroes, Catholics, accountants or those with blue eyes." The Court held that Swain's lawyers had failed to prove that the state's exclusion of blacks was systematic, even though it was shown that no black had served on a jury in that Alabama county since 1950. Unfortunately, obtaining proof of systematic exclusion is almost impossible, since it requires compiling a record of every peremptory challenge a prosecuting attorney exercises. In many jurisdictions, jury selection proceedings are not transcribed.

Last May, the Supreme Court heard three appeals challenging the Swain precedent, including McCray's. Citing California and Massachusetts state court rulings that defendants' rights were violated by peremptory challenges on racial grounds, the Court declined to intervene. It said that those states and a few others that have laws governing the practice should serve as "laboratories" in which the fairness of peremptory challenges could be tested. In his dissent, Justice Thurgood Marshall wrote, "It is difficult to understand why several must suffer discrimination . . . before any defendant can object." And more to the point, "The right to a jury drawn from a fair cross section of the community is rendered meaningless if the State is permitted to utilize peremptory challenges to exclude all Negroes from the jury."

In a case in Georgia heard by the U.S. Court of Appeals of the Eleventh Circuit, Gary Willis claimed that the exclusion of blacks undermined his right to a fair trial. Willis was tried by an all-white jury in 1978 for killing a white police officer; he was convicted and sentenced to death. The prosecutor had eliminated every eligible black juror. During the voir dire, Millard Farmer, a well-known civil rights attorney from Atlanta who defended Willis, seemed to draw racism from the very pores of some potential jurors. For example, he asked a white man who claimed to have black friends why they never came to his house. The man replied, "It's a custom I guess. . . . It's just like a dog. I don't believe a dog should be in the house." The Court of Appeals, holding closely to the Swain standard, ruled Willis could resubmit evidence of systematic peremptory challenge abuse to the Federal District Court. However, the State of Georgia plans to petition the U.S. Supreme Court for a determination.

Racialized juries are not always biased in their verdicts, even in the South. In the Brunswick murder trial, the all-white jury found the defendant not guilty of murder but guilty of the lesser charge of involuntary manslaughter. The foreman told me, "It was clear to all the jurors the state hadn't proved murder." On the other hand, in Willis's case a mixed jury probably would have convicted him given the state's evidence, though it might not have invoked the death sentence.

In states with the death penalty, the problem of racialized juries is exacerbated because blacks tend to oppose capital punishment on principle, a view that automatically disqualifies those who hold it from capital cases. In the Willis case, sixteen of the thirty-two blacks eligible for jury service were dismissed because they opposed capital punishment; peremptory challenges eliminated the rest.

In trials involving civil rights issues, the racial composition of the jury can be of crucial importance to the defendant. Last year in Wrightsville, Georgia, for example, a local white sheriff and several of his deputies were sued by forty-eight blacks who had marched in a peaceful protest against the sheriff's discriminatory hiring practices. The demonstration erupted in violence, and a number of blacks were beaten or shot. The all-white jury—in a county that is 30 percent black—acquitted the sheriff and his men. According to one juror, "The sheriff was doing what he had to do

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to keep the town from burning down." When I noted that the demonstration had been a peaceful one, she said, "It sounded during the trial like it was, but the sheriff had no choice." It is doubtful that a black in the rural South would have shared her view. The jurors, judging from the half-dozen I interviewed, had put themselves in the sheriff's shoes.

In 1982, an all-white jury considered whether an avowed racist had shot civil rights leader Vernon Jordan Jr. In 1981 three black convicts who attacked James Earl Ray in prison were tried before an all-white jury in Knoxville, Tennessee. Last March seven white police officers from New Orleans were tried in Dallas before an all-white jury on charges of beating blacks during a hunt for another officer's killer. That same month, in Brooklyn, an all-white jury—the defense having raised peremptory challenges to all blacks—heard evidence against a white youth accused of murdering a black in a racial incident. The jury acquitted the defendant of the most serious charge, second degree murder, and found him guilty on lesser charges.

There is also the notorious case of Arthur McDuffie, a black man who died in Miami in December 1979 after he received a severe beating under suspicious circumstances. Four white policemen were indicted for the killing. The jury, from which blacks and women were excluded by the defense attorney's peremptory challenges, took only two hours and forty-four minutes to reach a verdict of not guilty. According to one juror, "Somebody did something wrong, but the state did not prove its case against the men on trial." The verdict was perceived as a cover-up, and within hours of its announcement, riots erupted in Miami, leaving 400 injured and causing approximately $100 million in property damage, while creating bitterness and racial tensions which linger still. The verdict of a representative jury would not have been as inflammatory.

The beauty of the jury system is precisely that a group of strangers reach a collective decision based on their individual readings of the facts. The beauty of the peremptory challenge is that it allows attorneys to vent instinctive suspicion about an individual's capacity to be fair. The two beauties are in conflict.

To curb the abuse of peremptory challenges, several states have, in effect, abolished them. In California, attorneys may object to their opponent's challenges. If the judge sustains the objection, the other side must give a reason for its objection. In a letter last summer to *The New York Times*, Judge Stanley Mosk of the Supreme Court of California said that the practice has all but eliminated complaints about the abuse of peremptories. But a seasoned attorney can usually come up with a plausible reason for challenging a juror, and the judge may still excuse the juror if he chooses to do so. A public defender in a major California city told me that in areas where the number of blacks in jury pools is low, the peremptory problem still exists: "The fact that you have the rule doesn't end the inquiry. The law should have solved the problem, but we are dealing with human beings. . . . Until we have more honest D.A.s and strong judges who aren't afraid of them, the problem of peremptory abuse will go on." Given the current demand for speedier trials, there is apt to be little support for procedures that lengthen the time it takes to select a jury.

Abuse of the peremptory challenge puts the rights of defendants, lawyers and society in conflict, making jury selection a political act. Excluding minorities from juries is a political statement, a cause of retrials and perhaps of riots. It saps the essence of the jury system, its representativeness, the very principle on which the quality of justice depends. □

Secret War

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

A review of events in Chad is important for understanding why the C.I.A. intervention backfired. In 1979 the twelve-year-old civil war in Chad came to a temporary halt: with the help of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.), eleven factions formed the Transitional Government of National Unity (known by its inelegant French acronym, GUNT), under the presidency of Goukouni.

In March 1980 the other factions of GUNT were challenged by Hissen Habré, the ambitious Minister of Defense, and bloody but inconclusive fighting dragged on the rest of that year. In December, Goukouni requested assistance from Libya. Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi's troops entered the country, drove Habré's army east into the Sudan and remained to occupy Chad. Meanwhile, Goukouni compromised himself further by agreeing to the "merger" of his country and Libya.

In late October 1981 international pressure finally persuaded Goukouni to ask the Libyans to leave Chad. Within two weeks they were gone and were replaced by an O.A.U. peacekeeping force openly financed by the United States. Despite that assistance, by June 1982 Habré's prowess as a guerrilla fighter proved too great for GUNT, which fell apart militarily and politically. He marched into the capital city of N'Djamena and into power.

Within six months the exiled Goukouni government had re-formed in the North, with extensive logistic assistance from Libya. GUNT returned Chad to the front pages briefly last summer by launching a major military push south. Habré beat it back. Libya responded by intervening directly. France in turn drew a defensive line of troops across the country to protect Habré in the South. Since that time, France and Libya have shown no willingness either to fight each other or to abandon their respective allies in Chad. The forecast is for continued stalemate.

The American decision to intervene clandestinely in Chad was in large part a product of the political atmosphere in the U.S. government at the time. The Reagan Administration

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had just come into office and was committed to taking a hard line against Libya and other countries it considered Soviet surrogates. Only six weeks after his inauguration, President Reagan described Chad as a focus of superpower concern. Asked about the possibility of an American-Soviet summit, he replied that the Russians would first have to moderate the behavior of their surrogates—for example, he said, that of "Qaddafi in Chad."

"Chad was the front line at that time" in Africa, one official recalled recently. "Chad stood for Libyan destabilization in the whole area." A few officials at the State Department warned against treating Chad as simply an arena in which to confront Qaddafi, but their protest was quickly defeated. "No one dared stand up to [Secretary of State Alexander] Haig on this one," said one dissenting official. "The department absolutely caved in."

Adding to the pressure was Senator Jesse Helms's intense scrutiny of appointments in the department's Africa bureau. It "terrified a lot of people and reduced Chester Crocker [Reagan's acting but unconfirmed Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs] to little more than an errand boy for a number of months," the official said. A disincentive to dissent was present at every level of the bureau, he added.

The Chad operation was also strongly favored by the C.I.A., which had been promised major increases in funding and in the importance of its covert action role. "The agency had begun reasserting itself by that stage, and they leapt on this," one official said.

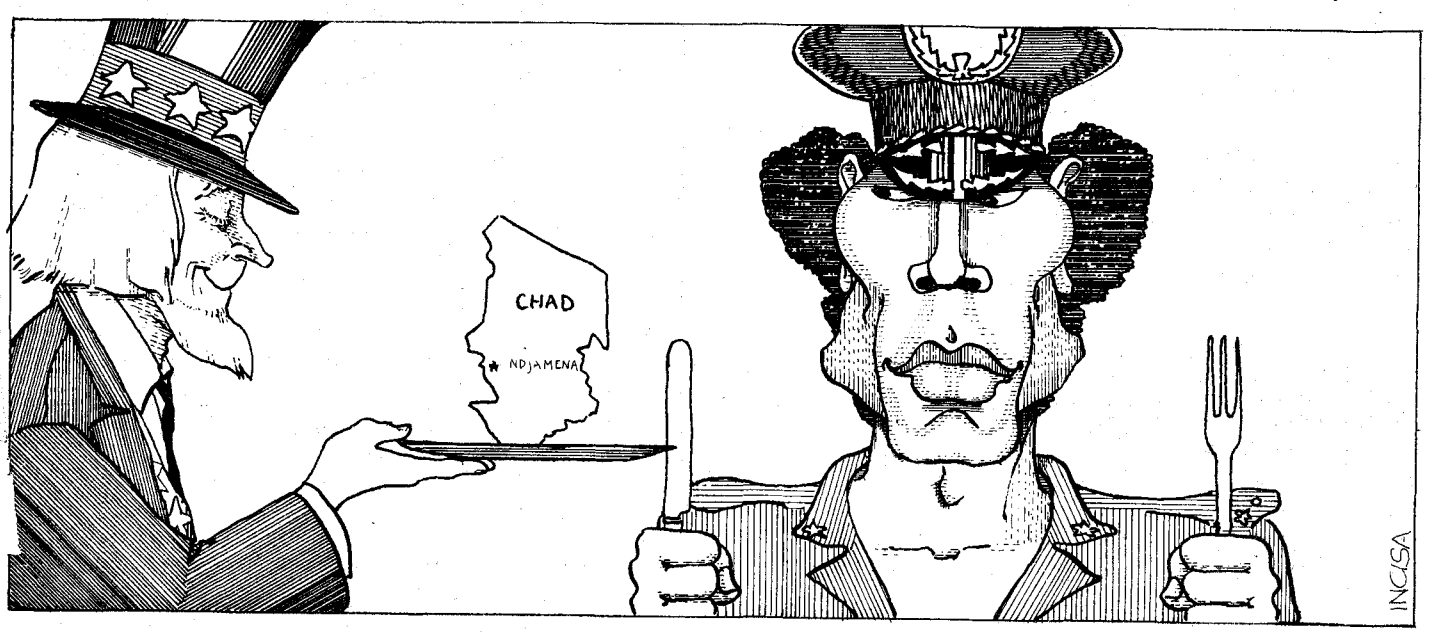
According to news reports, in March 1981 the United States received a request for arms from Hissen Habré, who had retreated into the Sudan and was poorly equipped. U.S. officials familiar with the events confirmed the press accounts. "But the dynamics of that relationship were a little different. We were passing word to Habré through Sudan that we would be interested in doing this," said one official. By the time Habré made his request, "the decision had been made. We were looking for modalities. In Haig's mind it was a foregone conclusion. . . . He just had a fixation on using Chad as an arena for bloodying the Libyan nose."

By early spring the decision had been made to supply Habré with money, arms and ammunition, vehicles, gasoline and other equipment, U.S. sources said. The operation was coordinated with Egypt, which had openly supported Habré for some time and now agreed to furnish him weapons and ammunition from its own stockpiles, in exchange for U.S. replacements. A similar arrangement was made with the Sudan, although that country's more important role was to provide Habré with a base of operations and a supply line. The Sudan's Minister of State Security arranged the delivery of aid to Habré, the sources said.

The initial American commitment was increased several times during the course of 1981. "There was almost irresistible pressure once we let it be known that we would do this," one source said. "The Egyptians had a wonderful way of creating anxiety," transmitting urgent requests for a stronger U.S. role from the Sudan, which they treated as a protectorate. Habré's representatives were in touch with Americans in Khartoum throughout 1981 and 1982, officials noted. They too exerted pressure for more aid, warning that Habré would be forced to retreat unless he received additional help. Another tactic was to complain to each of his backers about the halfhearted attitude of the others. Even so, Habré managed to impress his supporters. "He made demands on all his friends because he was in a tight corner, but he and his people were very reasonable to work with," one U.S. official said.

By the time the Libyans withdrew from Chad in November 1981, U.S. aid commitments to Habré totaled about $10 million. Officials estimate that as much as 50 percent of the amount allocated for military equipment was required to cover transportation costs, leaving roughly $5 million to $7 million in aid and matériel. But at that point, Habré had not yet received the whole package. The United States could have looked ahead at the trap into which it was stumbling and changed course. It did not.

Libya's departure took most American officials by surprise. After all, Goukouni had asked the Libyans to



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leave not because of pressure from Habré but because he had received an aid package from the French and the promise of a peacekeeping force from the O.A.U. That assistance persuaded him that GUNT no longer needed Libya's help to deal with Habré.

With Qaddafi's army out of Chad, the initial purpose of the American covert action program had been accomplished. The United States faced a choice: cut off Habré and seriously support GUNT and the O.A.U. peacekeeping force, or hedge its bets, continuing to back Habré and making only token efforts to stabilize GUNT. The new situation called into question many of the assumptions on which America's involvement with Habré had been based.

The first was that Habré would be an effective anti-Libyan fighter. The Administration was impressed by his skill as a guerrilla leader and his organizational ability, but he did not engage in effective military activity until shortly before Qaddafi withdrew. Indeed, one of his first major actions was to march into eastern Chad after the Libyan departure. Habré thus appears to have spent much of 1981 collecting outside logistic support rather than carrying out his intended mission, as one official put it, to "increase the flow of pine boxes back to Libya." In fact, spontaneous attacks by civilians caused a far higher number of Libyan casualties than did Habré's forces, officials said. As a result of such attacks, Qaddafi "was sending home planeloads of five or ten [casualties] at a crack, to the point that he had the planes stop landing in Tripoli" to conceal the extent of the problem, recalled a former U.S. official.

A second assumption was that the level of aid to Habré was sufficient to pressure Libya to withdraw. As an experienced State Department official commented, "If it were against Goukouni, then it would be quite important. If it were against the Libyans, then it would be negligible." The U.S. government was taking actions that by themselves were unlikely to succeed; indeed, it seems to have been so confident of failure that little thought was given to what would happen if the policy worked and Libya withdrew. Obviously, Habré would renew the civil war in earnest.

A third was that Habré would be a suitable American proxy. In fact, the choice had little to recommend it. Like every other Chadian leader, Habré had received Libyan aid in the past. If in 1981 he was considered to head the most anti-Libyan faction, it was more because of his pronouncements than his actions. He and Goukouni, once allies in the guerrilla movement FROLINAT, had quarreled in the mid-1970s about Libya's occupation of the mineral-rich Aouzou Strip in northern Chad: Habré wanted to address the issue at once, while Goukouni believed FROLINAT should first take power and then resolve it. The dispute was largely theological, since neither was in a position to do anything about the problem. Moreover, the two times Habré could have pressed the issue—as Defense Minister under Goukouni and as Prime Minister under the earlier government of Felix Malloum—he had shown little interest in it, according to well-informed U.S. and African officials.

Indeed, if the Reagan Administration had paid serious attention to Habré's rhetoric, it would also have worried about his Maoism. In the mid-1970s, Habré had informed an interviewer that the men he admired most were Mao Zedong, Fidel Castro and Ho Chi Minh. As far as his own ambitions, he told *Le Figaro*, "What we want is to install a revolutionary regime in [N'Djamena] which will contribute to revolutionary ferment in all of Africa, in the whole Third World."

The departure of the Libyans raised more serious questions about whether the U.S. relationship with Habré should continue. It was almost certain Habré and his army would try to take power, but it was not clear he could govern. However impressed U.S. officials were with his military and political skills, they could not ignore the fact that he was widely hated in Chad. His forces had massacred Southerners during fighting in early 1979, and after his retreat from N'Djamena two years later, the skeletons of several hundred people who had been executed during his 1980 struggle against GUNT were found in the marshlands behind his house.

In addition, Habré had betrayed almost everyone with whom he had dealt. In 1971, for example, he was reportedly sent to FROLINAT as a spy by the head of then-President Ngarta Tombalbaye's secret police in order to split the organization and bribe some of its leaders to rally to the government. Instead, he confessed his mission to FROLINAT leader Abba Siddick, kept Tombalbaye's money and received a new mission from Siddick. He then defected to Goukouni, who was Siddick's rival in FROLINAT, and kept money Siddick had given him. In 1974 he kidnapped several Europeans and refused to release two of them after his ransom demands had been met. He killed or captured those who came to negotiate a deal. In 1978 he rallied to the Malloum government and became Prime Minister of Chad. Within six months, he tried to oust Malloum by force. And three months after becoming Defense Minister of GUNT, he plunged the country into civil war again, in yet another attempt to seize power.

The fourth assumption behind U.S. policy that should have been reviewed when Qaddafi withdrew from Chad was that Goukouni was a Libyan puppet. Almost no U.S. official interviewed now believes that was true, and it would not fit Goukouni's history. Before becoming President, Goukouni was put under house arrest several times by the Libyans for refusing to concede the legitimacy of their occupation of the Aouzou Strip. In mid-1979, his faction was alone in resisting and repelling a Libyan invasion of Chad. And his agreement in Tripoli in early 1981 to "merge" his country and Libya was the result of extortion. "Goukouni had to leave that [concession] behind so that he could get out of Libya," a well-informed U.S. defense official commented. "Remember, Qaddafi can be a very hostile host." Other sources corroborated that version of the incident. By the spring of 1981, sporadic fighting was reported between Goukouni's forces and the Libyans. At the O.A.U. summit that June, Goukouni appealed for an African peacekeeping

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force to replace the Libyan presence. Privately, he told French and American officials that he was ready to ask the Libyans to leave and that he feared for his safety.

The tension increased again that fall, with Goukouni and his allies battling Libya and pro-Libyan Chadians. Meanwhile, according to well-placed U.S. and African diplomats, Goukouni's government was preparing to raise the issue of the Aouzou Strip publicly at the next O.A.U. summit, then scheduled to be held in Libya.

"Goukouni was looking for a way out. I made that point again and again," said a former State Department official. "The atmosphere in the department at that time was that we should have nothing to do with him." Even after Goukouni had successfully ousted the Libyans, many officials believed he had been permanently compromised by his association with Qaddafi. Others had a different explanation for the department's continued hostility: "They'd convinced themselves that Goukouni was a softheaded, weak-willed, incompetent leader," said one official. But if it was true that he lacked some of Habré's leadership qualities, he also lacked Habré's flaws. In fact, it was Goukouni's conciliatory style that won him the presidency of GUNT's fragile coalition and that helped him allay the profound ethnic, religious and economic mistrust that traditionally divided Chad's black South and predominantly Arab North.

There was no policy review, however. The opportunity presented by the Libyan departure for a positive U.S. role in Chad was lost through a combination of inattention and inertia.

"The attention of high-level policy makers was not focused on Chad after that," said one State Department official. "So you didn't have interagency meetings asking, Should Habré be stopped? Was the pipeline really stopped? Are we doing enough for the peacekeeping force?"

There was also no reversal of the relationship with Habré, officials said. "The fact is that we got tied to this guy and couldn't just cut him loose," a source commented. "To suggest otherwise is just irresponsible when we were so involved in getting him started."

Still other officials portrayed the relationship as a kind of consensual blackmail. "He wasn't about to be denied," said one. "He was crying and complaining privately," another added, "and he was threatening to go public with his complaints if he was cut off."

A break with Habré would also have upset Egypt and the Sudan, both of which continued to supply Habré, though at lower levels than before. "The Sudanese did not think much of Goukouni and were not the least bit interested in seeing him remain in N'Djamena, thinking he would give free rein to Qaddafi to make trouble," said a U.S. government analyst who followed the situation closely. "The Sudanese had a security interest in supporting Habré."

All the officials interviewed agreed that contrary to press accounts at the time, the United States never asked Egypt or the Sudan to cut off aid to Habré. They also said the United States made no effort at this time to persuade Habré to stop fighting.

However, one knowledgeable official, while refusing to comment on other allegations, insisted that no U.S. aid was given to Habré after the Libyan withdrawal.

Several points should be made in evaluating that denial. The covert action program authorized the C.I.A. to act against the Libyan presence; if the program continued after the Libyans left, the agency may have exceeded its authority.

U.S. officials agreed that no new commitments to Habré were made after Qaddafi's withdrawal. But, one official noted, "There are time gaps. What was started in early '81 couldn't be completed by November when the Libyans left, so the aid kept rolling." A Congressional source noted that a U.S. shipment of Egyptian trucks had been delivered to Habré after the Libyan departure.

"It continued," said a State Department official with detailed knowledge of the operation. By late 1981, he said, a large part of the aid had already been provided, and the remaining funds and matériel that had been allocated were routinely distributed to Habré in the following months. "By that time, we had a lot of confidence in him," the official recalled. "We went through the whole process."

Another source who visited the Sudan in the spring of 1982 said he had learned of the continuing supply in conversations with U.S. Embassy personnel and Sudanese military and Foreign Ministry officials. "We were talking about not whether but how much and how effectively" the United

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States was helping Habré. "It never occurred to anyone to deny it," he said. The Sudanese "were so upset that they might be deprived of anything that they were trying to cut corners. The U.S. would say, 'You loan your stuff and we'll fill in the gaps,' but they were very, very reluctant to draw down their own supplies."

The other, contradictory track of U.S. policy in this period involved halfhearted support for the O.A.U. peacekeeping force, which itself turned out to be a halfhearted operation. Its mission, and the U.S. attitude toward it, began and ended with misunderstanding.

Early in 1981, Secretary of State Haig met with the Foreign Minister of Nigeria, one of the countries planning to participate in the peacekeeping mission. According to State Department officials, the Nigerians said they needed $60 million to finance their contribution to such a force; Haig replied that the United States would be as helpful as possible, and the Nigerians went away thinking he had made a commitment to supply the whole amount. The resulting mix-up led to hard feelings when the O.A.U. force was formed that November. Pleading a tight budget, the State Department set aside only $12 million for it, and spent only $8 million of that, having limited itself to supplying nonlethal items. The American aid was further divided between Nigeria and Zaire, with France helping to finance a contingent from Senegal. Later, the O.A.U. force commander, Gen. Geoffrey Ejiga, complained bitterly that the lack of international funding had undermined his authority by putting so great a burden on the three participating countries: "The home governments interfered by issuing direct orders to their contingents" on the theory that "he who pays the piper calls the tune."

Many observers have blamed the failure of the O.A.U. mission on its lack of a clear mandate. But initially its role was well defined, if unrealistic. Goukouni wanted a force that would help him pursue Habré the way the Libyans had; the O.A.U. was willing only to separate the two sides by occupying and defending "operational zones." Still, the O.A.U. supported GUNT diplomatically, recognizing it as the legitimate government, calling on surrounding countries not to interfere in Chad's internal affairs and refusing to pressure Goukouni to negotiate or hold elections.

But the accord between the O.A.U. and GUNT rapidly broke down as Habré's army fought its way westward and the three peacekeeping contingents realized they faced a choice between failure on the one hand and direct combat in an expensive and open-ended confrontation on the other. "The antagonism continued to mount every time Hissen Habré's forces advanced," recalled a knowledgeable O.A.U. official. Within a month or two, he said, "Habré became a reality in the east." At a February 1982 meeting on Chad, an O.A.U. committee reversed each of the organization's positions on Chad, declaring its force to be neutral and calling on Goukouni to negotiate and hold elections before the force left in June. Goukouni left the meeting shouting, "I am betrayed!"

The GUNT leaders felt the O.A.U. "had made promises that were palatable to them and compelled them to get the Libyans out," the O.A.U. source recalled. "Once they were out and Hissen Habré was introduced in the east, the O.A.U. wouldn't fight. So they [GUNT] took this as a kind of plot against the Chadian government." In fact, at least one of the peacekeeping contingents appears to have been playing a double game. "I was in Zaire [last] summer," a former U.S. official recalled. "They told me, 'Oh, we were helping him [Habré] all along.'"

One form of Zairian assistance was described by a well-informed African diplomat: Habré's people had told him that after the February 1982 blowup with Goukouni, they had reached a "gentleman's agreement" with the Zairian troops. "They would tell the Zairois in the east what they wanted to do, and the Zairois would let them through the O.A.U. lines to fight against the government troops."

A little-noticed article in the June 1982 issue of *Africa Now* told a strange but similar story. The account, attributed to the director of Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko's staff and others close to the President, states that Haig and other American officials had suggested that Zaire's troops in Chad follow a three-part strategy: do nothing to aid GUNT, tacitly help Habré gain control of a large portion of Chad in order to negotiate with GUNT from a position of strength, and encourage talk of a coup.

Surprisingly, American officials do not dismiss the story. According to one, "By the end of March of 1982, we were not opposed to Habré improving his bargaining position by force of arms," because Goukouni had refused to negotiate. Another official commented that the story was "consistent with what Haig was saying, but I can't believe he'd be so indiscreet" as to tell Mobutu.

In the final weeks of the war, GUNT and the O.A.U. forces faded away before the well-equipped Habré, who entered N'Djamena in June 1982. Since then, Habré has wielded power in a characteristically confrontational manner. Rather than reach an accommodation with the powerful Southern and Arab factions within GUNT, which abandoned Goukouni at the end and offered to negotiate with Habré, he attempted to split and defeat them militarily. According to a report by Amnesty International, his forces have detained, beaten or assassinated many officials and civilians suspected of being loyal to former Southern leaders. Partly because of those incidents, the South is now the site of regular disturbances that pose a long-term threat to Habré's stability.

Similarly, last summer Habré attempted to retake the far-northern city of Faya-Largeau after it fell to GUNT. The counterattack was launched despite warnings from both the United States and France that the city was beyond his supply lines and that the action was likely to provoke direct Libyan intervention, U.S. officials said.

"Here we've got major powers like France and Libya involved on the basis of not being able to control two tribal chiefs," a State Department official concluded with a baffled shrug. "Inadvertent mismanagement and inability to control what's been set in motion. That's the story." □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

A Soviet Leonardo?

KAREN ROSENBERG

IMMORAL MEMORIES: An Autobiography. *By Sergei M. Eisenstein. Translated by Herbert Marshall. Houghton Mifflin. 292 pp. $19.95.*

MASTERS OF THE SOVIET CINEMA: Crippled Creative Biographies. *By Herbert Marshall. Routledge & Kegan Paul. 252 pp. $29.95.*

His hero was Leonardo da Vinci, and it was Freud's psychosexual study of the artist that helped him recognize his attraction to men—and channel it into creative work—and to regard science as well as art as his field of inquiry. Small wonder Sergei Eisenstein's contemporaries often found him arrogant. How many of them had dared choose such a model or set themselves such lofty goals? It's not that his colleagues in film weren't ambitious but that they generally aspired to tangible rewards: medals and honors, positions of authority, power over the fate of others. Eisenstein aimed at something more, a place in the history of culture, and he won it.

He did so on the basis of relatively few major works, one might add, for Eisenstein completed only seven films and published no books (only articles) before his final heart attack at age 50, in 1948. But, planning on lasting fame, he meticulously preserved his manuscripts, sketches, stills and notes—some say he married the devoted Pera Attasheva only so that she would inherit and guard his monumental archives. (They lived in separate apartments, and friends discovered they were married only after his death.) If so, he made a prudent choice, for she lived to publish some of this material, including Eisenstein's autobiography, now translated by Herbert Marshall. *Immoral Memories* is Eisenstein's proof to himself, as much as to posterity, that he was much more than a filmmaker. A theoretician, a professor, an anthropologist and a linguist, he consciously updated the concept of the Renaissance man.

Fortunately, he lived at a time when Russians had more access to world culture then they do today. From his prerevolutionary childhood in a well-to-do Riga family, he gained a fluent knowledge of French, German and Russian; later on, he added English, some Spanish and a little Japanese. Even as a boy he had an obsessive love of books, perhaps as an escape from the strife between his parents, and, after their divorce, as compensation for the cold tyranny of his father. ("Books cling to me," he writes in these poetic memoirs. "I have loved them so much that they have finally begun to love me back.") He could exist, apparently, on two levels: making anti-Kerensky drawings while studying eighteenth-century French engravings; poring over illustrations by Dürer and Hogarth while training to be a military engineer. "The dynamiting of some old German trenches, abandoned during the absurd Kerensky offensive in July of 1917," he wrote, "I direct in the company of Henrik Ibsen." Clearly, he needed the actors, costumes and locations of film to make that double vision cohere.

Eisenstein belonged to the last generation of Russians to grow up securely within European civilization. Without this background, his films and essays could not have been so synthetic in form or subject matter—in short, so brilliant. When he traveled to Europe in 1929, he met Cocteau, Joyce and Shaw, knowing their works at least as well as they knew *Potemkin* and *October/Ten Days That Shook the World*. Despite its title, *Immoral Memories* is an intellectual autobiography, a record of the authors and artists that shaped him. (Eclectic, enthusiastic and determined to impress, he drops too many names for the reader to assimilate.) This is his circuitous answer to a request he immodestly quotes: "Tell us how one becomes an Eisenstein."

Like Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin*, Eisenstein's autobiography, begun in 1946, is full of witty digressions, and as in Pushkin (whom he greatly admired), the digressions *are* the story. Perhaps the most touching is his description of a bookshop (of course) on a narrow Leningrad side street, lined floor to ceiling with rare editions of Whitman, Rabelais et al.:

> The shop is often shut. But they always let me in. I don't have to hurry to get there when the shop opens in the morning in order not to lose some book I had spotted in the window on the evening before. Somehow the question of money doesn't arise, either. No matter what I choose in the shop, there's always enough money.

But this bookstore turns out to be only the product of his imagination, the recurring dream of a bitter man whose deep frustration is not explained in this tactful volume. Eisenstein's elliptical style is not just a literary mannerism but the disjointed formulation of a man who had to be silent about many things. The mysterious gaps should be felt, for they too are part of his story: the name of Stalin is not just absent from *Immoral Memories*, it is *tellingly* absent.

Herbert Marshall's *Masters of the Soviet Cinema* provides the context which Eisenstein omitted: in the 1930s, foreign travel by Soviet citizens became virtually impossible, the flow of foreign books to shops and private individuals was restricted and translations were held up. When foreign currency was not allowed him, Eisenstein (according to Marshall) resorted to the most abject flattery to get Western acquaintances to bring him the texts he needed. To this passionate bibliophile and ambitious intellectual, Gordon Craig's naïve invitation, "Drop everything. Come to Paris for a month. It's spring now. We'll rummage through the books along the Seine," must have been the source of enormous irritation. As intercourse with the outside world became increasingly difficult, Eisenstein's intellectual name-dropping took on a curious random quality; when foreigners left Moscow in 1941, he picked up the books they left behind: detective stories, novels by Sinclair Lewis and Galsworthy, the American ambassador's collection of books on Latin America.

But it takes more than books to become an Eisenstein. Clearly he could not have attempted to be a Renaissance man had he not lived in an era of historically significant beginnings: in art and technology there was the birth of silent cinema, then sound cinema and finally color cinema; in politics, the appearance of the first socialist state and of the first five-year plan. Eisenstein

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achieved fame partly because he latched onto those points of origin. Unlike his parents, who emigrated to Paris and Berlin, he embraced the October Revolution, which afforded him a good opportunity to break the family tie to the engineering profession. As for spiritual parents, his list is too long to be revealing. Evidently, he avoided substituting a father-figure for his father: though he could have followed the path of his mentor, avant-garde stage director Vsevolod Meyerhold, he turned instead to the nascent medium of film. It was a field so new that a young man could tower in it. In a department of art history or esthetics, would his erudition have seemed so brilliant? Eisenstein himself admits he was a calculating Don Juan, on the prowl for intellectual conquests. His autobiography contains a revealing boyhood note, "Napoleon did all that he did, not because he was talented or a genius. He made himself talented in order that he might do all that he did." About his sin of pride, at least, he was remarkably candid.

Perhaps we should thank the Renaissance metaphor for saving Eisenstein from intolerable egotism. He needed other filmmakers to be part of a burgeoning movement—hence his famous comparison of Aleksandr Dovzhenko (the director of *Earth*) to Michelangelo, and Vsevolod Pudovkin (known for *Mother* and *The End of St. Petersburg*) to Raphael. Indeed, he was no lone genius. Marshall's masters of the Soviet silent cinema—Eisenstein, Pudovkin, Dovzhenko and Dziga Vertov (celebrated for *Man With a Movie Camera*)—were all working out the film equivalents of metaphor, parallel and contrast, through editing (called montage) and shot composition. And explorations in form were not their only common concern: they were also linked by a desire to promulgate the principles and achievements of the new Soviet state. Yet because these directors believed the Soviet viewer could and should be trusted to draw appropriate conclusions from the relationships between images on a screen, their films were never simple-minded propaganda. Even before Stalin came to power, that view of art and audience was an embattled minority position, appreciated more by the avant-garde abroad than at home. And by the 1930s, "poetic film" was under heavy fire in the Soviet Union.

Marshall, an English avant-gardist who studied in Moscow at the State Institute of Cinematography (G.I.K.) in the early 1930s and is now a professor emeritus at Southern Illinois University, has collected and translated many of the attacks on the Soviet film masters and their pained replies. More an anthology than a critical study, and frightfully repetitive, *Masters of the Soviet Cinema* nevertheless sheds light on a dark, gloomy corner: what Stalinism meant for film. Unlike poets and novelists, who could write for the drawer or for possible publication abroad, Soviet filmmakers had to rely on the state for massive amounts of money and equipment—hence they had to bend, or cease directing. But even if they were willing to submit "cast-iron" scripts for prior censorship (which would rule out inspired improvisations like the baby carriage bouncing down the Odessa Steps in *Potemkin*) and to make obvious ideological points through conventional techniques, they still might not land one of the ten long features commissioned by the state each year. Eisenstein had so few opportunities to make movies that at age 48 he felt he risked being referred to in the past tense.

An aborted artistic movement often evokes sympathy, and a lost avant-garde is especially appealing. The question must still be asked, however: Were the Soviet 1920s an artistic renaissance? One can pose this question without rushing to judgment, especially since the important theoretical writings of Eisenstein and Vertov have yet to be published in English, and much material still lies buried in Soviet archives. The first Soviet film-

WELLS RIVER

We went along a way we'd gone before,
This time alone—up, against the lash
Of a stream bed where in spring, fools-thaw
Past, the cold year pours down out of itself
The way the will moves toward the term
It has elected, but then of course was dry,
Needled by fall to a dull gloss on itself
That lapped the fieldstone, the fern-locks.
I'd knelt to pick apart a cone of chrysalis.

I mention the details to remind you
Of the give-and-take. You were scuffing
At mossdown, pointing to changes swollen
With growth and decay but no quickening choice,
And to a pair of braided, fluent birches.
"Why aren't *we* alone more often?" Words
That, when I look up too quickly still,
Make me see double to where you stood.
I mean I am *here*, and at the same time *then*,
Your hand as suddenly in mine as I'd reached up,
And the sense of a life for a life that sounds
A counterforce of wavering,
The change of mind this incline of months
Sends back and forth and back again.

And, as today I woke in the hammock,
Late sunlight daydreaming beside me,
My arm dangling over the side, elbow-deep,
It seemed the way before us had become
A kind of inlet, a teardrop inlet
On the river, us both a boy in his skiff,
With a basket of food, his retriever.
(What had I been dreaming of before?
What calm regrets, anticipations
Of more than was reflected in some deep
Or exaggerated swerve of light on my face?)
He was moored to a swayback willow.
If setting out, I could have reached down
To loosen the rope, as any friend might
Who had (—I had) our walk in mind.

J.D. McClatchy

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makers were early masters of advertising, for themselves as much as for their nation. Whether their achievements live up to their promises, claims and ambitions is not yet clear. Pudovkin a Raphael, and Dovzhenko a Michelangelo? Marshall seems convinced; I highly doubt it. Eisenstein a Leonardo? It's a thought. □

Organizing Organized Labor

MICHAEL KAZIN

WORKING CLASS HERO: A New Strategy for Labor. *By Stanley Aronowitz. The Pilgrim Press. 229 pp. $18.95.*

On the rostrum, Stanley Aronowitz pulsates with intellectual radical fervor. Sweat flying from his unkempt black curls, the former union organizer turned college professor deftly and humorously summarizes masses of history and theory. He follows numerous tangents into the labyrinths of French politics, the Frankfurt School and the like, but always concludes with suggestions for action that send one out into the night refreshed and optimistic.

Unfortunately, the verve and clarity that make Aronowitz one of the best speakers on the left are largely absent from this book, an ambitious discussion of the history, present state and future prospects of organized labor in America. Instead of eloquent ardor, he delivers obscure and confusing prose. Instead of acute synthesis, he offers a potpourri of disconnected observations. Because Aronowitz attempts so much, *Working Class Hero* is a tantalizing failure—one which demonstrates the difficulty of proposing an agenda for labor that will both excite its adherents and offer a realistic chance of success.

Despite his stylistic murkiness, Aronowitz's purpose is straightforward. "Just as the rise of the industrial unions in the 1930s constituted the fundamental condition for the emergence of a progressive agenda in American national politics," he writes, "the revival of the labor movement in the 1980s is the prerequisite for a new alliance." To spark that rebirth, one needs a convincing explanation of why labor has sunk to its current nadir in union membership (21 percent of the work force) and popular esteem (below even Congress in a recent Gallup poll).

Michael Kazin teaches history at Stanford University. He is writing a book on San Francisco labor and politics at the turn of the century.

The Aronowitz version of American labor history resembles Stephen Dedalus's nightmare. In his fatalistic view, the business unionism of the old American Federation of Labor was an inevitable outgrowth of the American creed that a job was both property and the guarantee of one's personal status. Organized labor always had political aims, he argues, but they were easily contained within the dominant "corporativist" ideology: Sam Gompers and his successors cheered the global strength of U.S. capitalism and shunned all independent labor and socialist parties, thus insuring their own marginality.

Surprisingly, Aronowitz does not condemn those craft unionists, as have many leftist scholars before him. Gompers, in Aronowitz's opinion, was a realist who advocated that, since class-conscious radicalism was impossible and the work force was hopelessly fragmented into ethnic shards, union members should grab their "share in a noticeably expanding pie." A decade ago, in his widely read *False Promises*, Aronowitz flailed at the A.F.L. for dividing workers and shamelessly collaborating with management. Now he has made his peace with the old cigarmaker's legacy. In fact, Aronowitz's main source for the history of the early labor movement is Gompers's own self-serving autobiography!

Throughout the first half of the book, he continues this doleful theme. Organized labor never tried to be a force for radical change. Even the C.I.O., during the era of sitdowns and interracial solidarity, wanted only to fulfill the original goal of "pure-and-simple" unionism: to organize the unorganized. The popularity of Franklin Roosevelt and the legal protection of the Wagner Act of 1935 served only to bind labor to the rising managerial power of the liberal state. With that as prologue, the current doldrums appear inevitable.

Labor history, however, is really not that one-dimensional. Aronowitz focuses on factors that shattered leftist dreams, but he slights the significance of the intriguing paths not taken. The egalitarian Knights of Labor in the 1880s, the one-third of the A.F.L. which identified with the Socialist Party before World War I, and the mélange of radical rank-and-filers in the 1930s and 40s did not win, but they gave the labor movement a measure of militant idealism. This alternative tradition raised many of the political demands now championed by the A.F.L.-C.I.O., such as national health insurance and state-guaranteed full employment. Aronowitz knows his Marx, but in this instance he neglects the dialectical method.

Moreover, when he leaps to the present, the cautious lessons of the conservative past are forgotten. With jarring optimism, Aronowitz counsels labor to adopt the critiques of environmentalists, feminists and the peace movement. Workers must, he says, break with pressure-group liberalism and a fixation on short-term economic gain, and embrace a "class struggle unionism" that would attack corporate America with both material and ideological means. Specifically, he advocates the formation of "a political vehicle independent of capital, through which workers' interests may be expressed."

These are brave words which, since the 1948 Henry Wallace campaign, have generally been confined to sectarians who peddle tabloids that scream "Build a Workers' Party!" Aronowitz does draw an excellent portrait of the people who would create a radicalized labor movement. The group includes International Ladies Garment Workers organizers who both build unions in Chinatown sweatshops and lobby for amnesty for undocumented immigrants, machinists who make the control of technological innovation a key issue in their factories and clerical unionists who appeal to workers' feminist consciousness as well as to their universal dislike of domineering supervisors. Aronowitz points out that many of these labor activists learned how to organize in the social movements that comprised the New Left and its penumbra. They brought into the unions a range of ideas which have now circulated widely through the ranks.

These sprouting seeds of a new labor movement are certainly welcome, but Aronowitz too glibly assumes that they can also fertilize a broad left-wing political coalition. He proposes an ambitious nine-point "program for the new progressive alliance" which begins with massive public works, calls for

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higher corporate taxes and a guaranteed right to strike, and is infused throughout with a desire "to end the domination of nature by society, women by men, blacks by whites, and labor by capital." We are not told how various movements will be convinced to support this lofty agenda, nor do we get a sense of priorities—which demands are essential and which should be laid on the ideological shelf, to be admired but not fashioned into immediate tasks for organizers and lobbyists.

Despite his insistence on the primacy of politics, Aronowitz is remarkably oblivious to crucial political questions that radical unionists face every day. Labor has indeed been too dependent on the good will of New Deal liberals, but a more autonomous stance requires a strategy, not a mere wish list. How might progressive unions capture leadership of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.? Should labor leftists run for office within and/or outside the Democratic Party, or continue to endorse the Kennedys and the Mondales? How does a union like the United Automobile Workers take a resolutely anticorporate stand when its membership rises and falls on the health of one extremely powerful industry? Will workers rally behind a growth policy that does not involve either greater military investment or the costly restoration of basic industries, such as steelmaking and shipbuilding, which may never again be internationally competitive? Decisions on these matters cannot be delayed pending interunion agreement on a grand manifesto.

In addition, Aronowitz's call for an omnibus alliance of all left-of-center movements needs elaboration. Former United Automobile Workers president Douglas Fraser launched such an organization in the late 1970s, but, after much initial hoopla, his Progressive Alliance dwindled into a set of press releases and expired. Aronowitz gives no reason why a second attempt would be more fruitful, and is content to conclude, in an aside, "The task of forging a new political bloc is difficult because it would break from the traditions not only of trade unions but also of the sectorally bound social movements." In other words, it is a great vision, but someone else will have to figure out how to bring it to life.

Aronowitz's analytical gaps at least provide an opportunity for useful debate, but his sloppy style almost defeats the whole enterprise. The book often reads like a college exam submitted by a bright but disorganized student. Several times he vigorously asserts an important point (usually prefaced by "I wish to argue") and then leaves it unexplored. He frequently reiterates the same historical details and appropriates well-known information, such as the fact that "American unions have retained their nominal independence from party affiliation since the founding of the AFL in 1886," as original contributions to knowledge.

Finally, Aronowitz only weakens his case when he states it in terms borrowed from the lexicon of structuralist Marxism. He writes, for example, "When workers did refuse the new social contract in practice, they never articulated its alternative discursively." Such sentences make one doubt that, as a publisher's note promises, "This book will be of great interest to working Americans." All in all, I prefer Stanley Aronowitz in the flesh. □

Marley as Messiah

GEORGE DeSTEFANO

CATCH A FIRE: The Life of Bob Marley. *By Timothy White. Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 380 pp. $16.95.*

When Bob Marley called his reggae sound "rebel music," he wasn't striking a trendy pose to enthrall rock audiences and help move countless units of what the recording industry likes to call "product." Since the 1950s, rock stars have adopted rebellious, "outlaw" stances, but in most cases the revolt was a matter of style. Robert Nesta Marley was another story. The son of a British Army captain and a black woman from the Jamaican countryside, Marley grew up dirt-poor in the ghettoes of Kingston, among the "sufferahs" for whom life on the island in the sun is no tropical idyll.

By the time he died of cancer in 1981 at the age of 36, he was beloved by millions as a partisan of the downtrodden and as an eloquent foe of racial and class oppression. His rhythmic reggae anthems filled major concert halls in North America and Europe. They could be heard blaring in the souks of Morocco. Zimbabwean freedom fighters exercised to Marley cassettes in the bush, and in 1980 he was invited by Robert Mugabe's government to perform with his band, the Wailers, at independence ceremonies for the newborn republic. In Jamaica, Marley was courted by political figures who sought his support for their agendas. In 1976 he was the target of an assassination attempt by gunmen allegedly linked to right-wing factions unhappy with his perceived ties to democratic socialist Prime Minister Michael Manley. But perhaps the most telling measure of his eminence as a radical, anticapitalist figure was that a dossier detailing his activities was kept by the C.I.A.

Marley's messages were often couched in the argot of the Rastafarians, the Jamaican millenarian religious and cultural movement which began in the 1930s. Rastas lionized the late Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie as "Jah," the black Christ who would redeem them from captivity in "Babylon"—a term which originally represented postcolonial Jamaica but has come to encompass the entire capitalist West. The death of Selassie has apparently done little to discourage hard-core Rastas.

Marley's tuneful, well-crafted songs—some of which have been recorded by such Babylonian superstars as Eric Clapton, Carly Simon and Barbra Streisand—are full of powerful images of resistance and the conviction that a conflict-ridden world can be redeemed by human beings. Jah is always for Marley "a living man." "Don't bury your thoughts/put your vision to reality," he admonishes in "Wake Up and Live." "Get up, stand up/stand up for your rights," he urges in another song. In "Babylon System," a scathing, anticapitalist broadside set to languid, soothing rhythms, Marley sings, "We've been trodding on the winepress much too long./Rebel, rebel."

Marley's righteous mien and penchant for Bible-quoting often give him the air of a prophet, and it is this aspect of his persona that Timothy White plays up in *Catch a Fire.* White, a former editor of *Rolling Stone,* places Marley within the political and cultural landscape of Jamaica, giving particular attention to how he was shaped by the religious beliefs and magical folklore of his childhood. The book is flawed, however, by White's tendency to mystify

George DeStefano is a freelance writer and a contributing editor to the New York Native.

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events and personalities, and by his novelized treatment of the subject. Readers who are knowledgeable about Marley, reggae and Jamaica will frequently find their eyebrows skeptically raised and an Oh, really? on their lips.

White establishes his perspective on Marley early in the book:

> Historically certain figures sometimes emerge from stagnant, despairing and/or disintegrating cultures to reinterpret old symbols and beliefs and invest them with new meaning. An individual's decision to play such a role may be purely unconscious, but it can sometimes evolve into an acute awareness that he may indeed have the gift/burden of prophecy.

According to White, "Bob Marley was such a messianic figure." Now, Bob Marley was clearly a gifted and altruistic artist with extraordinary communicative powers, but the notion that he was some sort of prophet/magician come to enlighten the oppressed and redeem their suffering is an awfully heavy mantle for a pop musician to bear. White casts Marley in the role of a Third World Jesus, much as the Rastas deify Haile Selassie. This conceit lends the story mystery and atmosphere—tales of spectral emissaries, magical powers and prophecies fulfilled undeniably make for a good read—but it turns the book into a flamboyant exercise in exotica.

White provides an engrossing and frequently enlightening account of the development of Rastafarianism from its beginnings as a "peasant squatter movement with religious underpinnings" to its emergence as a *Weltanschauung* that captured the imaginations and loyalties of hundreds of thousands of West Indians. Rasta has spread throughout the Caribbean diaspora—to Canada, the United States, Great Britain—and there are even "white Rastas," although one suspects that young Caucasians are drawn to the movement primarily by its exotic trappings and by its elevation of marijuana to the status of "wisdomweed."

White is less good, however, at analyzing Rasta's significance and shortcomings. Rasta is, as White reports, the ideological wellspring of most reggae, the source of its righteous indignation and apocalyptic vision. The movement has asserted the Africanness of the Jamaican people in a society where anything non-European was automatically disparaged by the ruling Creole elite. Rasta gives its followers pride in their race and culture. Through its vision of an eventual "repatriation" of believers from the New World to the ancestral African homeland, it has provided poor people—the movement's main constituents—with the psychological strength to endure the hardships of Jamaican life.

But this movement of cultural resistance to poverty and oppression operates mainly on the individual, not the collective, level. Rastafarianism eschews participation in politics in the belief that the individual Rasta has to do nothing to secure liberation. When the time is right, devout Rastas believe, "Ethiopia will stretch forth its hand," and Jah will secure the repatriation of the faithful.

Rasta also has a deep streak of misogyny. White observes, "Women's role in Rasta life is clearly a restricted one—they are childbearers, fire-builders, cooks and honored servants." They are considered "unclean" while menstruating. They may not wear makeup or any garb considered masculine. They are forbidden to "join in discussions of consequence," and they may not draw from the "chillum," the ritual pipe for smoking marijuana. White's prose, which is often rich and evocative, becomes dry and dispassionate when he cites the antiwoman proscriptions. He notes that most of those tenets are taken from the Bible, but he doesn't draw the obvious conclusion from that fact: Rastafarianism, though often proclaimed an "African" religion by its adherents (Haile Selassie was a Christian, but never mind), is, at least in its view of women, squarely within the Western, Judeo-Christian tradition Rastas claim to reject.

White drops the subject hastily, failing to explore how Rasta misogyny has crept into reggae music. Bob Marley sang warmly and lovingly about women, but since he took his Rastafarianism seriously, one doubts that he was too thrilled by uppity females. Other singers, however, have been pretty hard on the "daughters," as women are paternalistically called. In "Diseases," a reggae hit from last year, singers Papa Michigan and General Smiley warn women that Jah will strike them with horrible afflictions for the "abomination" of wearing pants. In "Not the Way," Gregory Isaacs, one of Jamaica's most popular singers, advises a fellow Rasta not to beat "his" woman, even if she is slow to fathom the wisdom of Rastafarianism. "That's

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no way to treat a lady," he counsels. Rasta attitudes toward homosexuality are equally retrograde: gays are "sodomites," deserving of death.

Rastafarianism clearly has a number of atavistic beliefs and practices that must be overcome if the movement is to develop into a collective force for the fundamental transformation of Jamaican society. Sagacious and creative grass-roots leaders will be needed, and one doubts whether the impetus for the refurbishing of Rasta will come from a reggae musician, no matter how "prophetic" his voice.

White's treatment of Jamaican politics is similarly attenuated. He gives an accurate summary of the development of Jamaican political institutions and the rise of the political bosses. Those leaders, he notes, have served mainly as errand boys for the "silent aristocracy" and other powerful business interests. In the 1950s, "the slave boss was replaced by political leaders of a certain stripe: fair and biscuit-skinned men who resembled the planters of yore . . . but who could bark out their platforms with machine-gun bravado and were willing to use actual firepower to punctuate their sternest dicta." That assessment remains accurate, especially in light of the grotesque, politically motivated mayhem—intraclass violence directed from above—that wracked Kingston's poor neighborhoods in the late 1970s. But White completely misses the significance of the eight-year period from 1972 to 1980 and Michael Manley's attempts to transform Jamaica into a democratic socialist state.

Manley assumed leadership of the People's National Party at the close of the 1960s, when Black Power sentiment was at a peak among the island's urban youth. Manley incorporated Black Power exponents and ideas into his strategy; he also lifted the previous government's ban on black nationalist and other radical literature. (The government of Jamaican Labor Party boss Hugh Shearer, who preceded Manley, not only banned "subversive" literature, it also expelled from Jamaica the noted Marxist intellectual and activist Walter Rodney. The Guyanese-born Rodney radicalized many young Jamaicans, and his expulsion was followed by widespread rioting in Kingston. For some inexplicable reason, Rodney is absent from *Catch a Fire.*)

Manley cannily exploited Rasta religiosity as well as reggae music to make his pitch to the "sufferahs." White sees Manley as a "West Indian Elmer Gantry," a sleazy manipulator who deceived the gullible, superstitious poor. But Manley's experiment in socialism, which was just European-style social democracy combined with anti-imperialist rhetoric and gestures, was a response to sustained and intense grass-roots agitation both within and outside the established political parties and trade unions. The Manley era saw a mobilization of the poor in behalf of radical social change, a fact White fails to grasp. Nor does he examine the way in which the political climate of those years affected Bob Marley. During the Manley years, socialism, which had previously been consigned to the outer limits of acceptable political discourse, suddenly became not only a legitimate topic but an urgent issue, along with questions of imperialism and solidarity with other developing nations. One doubts that Bob Marley would have sung, "Rasta no work for no C.I.A." had consciousness about foreign intervention in Jamaica's political and economic life not been raised during the Manley era.

But mystical falderal and political considerations aside, Marley was first and foremost a musician, and it is here that White's book really disappoints. *Natty Dread*, a superb 1974 album which offers militant Rasta polemic set to earthy yet sophisticated reggae music, deserves detailed commentary, but White talks more about the art on the LP jacket than the music. With the exception of *Catch a Fire*, Marley's 1973 debut album on Island Records, the singer's other recordings are slighted. The Bob Marley of *Uprising* (1980) was a far more assured and authoritative singer than the reedy-voiced Marley of *Catch a Fire*, but White pays scant attention to the growth and maturing of the man's artistry. And what about his musical influences, the manner in which he composed and arranged his songs, the nature of the working relationship between him and his musicians? If White is so fascinated by "magic," one wonders why he has so little to say about Marley as a concert artist.

Catch a Fire is limited by the conception of Marley as a prophet and mystic, a role that is both too large and too confining for the man. This prophet could wax enthusiastic over a piece of apocalyptic, right-wing nonsense like *The Late, Great Planet Earth* and brandish the Bible with fundamentalist fervor

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No great savant or leader, Marley was as confused as any of us by the maddening contradictions of life. He was, however, also a unique artist who articulated the hopes and sufferings of the poor and powerless through his direct, unaffected folk poetry and protest lyrics. Perhaps what is most significant about Bob Marley is that for a brief while he managed to alter the terms of cultural exchange between the First and Third Worlds. Until he came along, Western domination of the black West Indian psyche was near-total, encompassing everything from standards for high art to gangster movies and Coca-Cola. Marley seduced Babylon with a beat and a hard-won moral authority that no pop music figure before or since has managed to achieve. □

Does Literature Exist?

LENNARD J. DAVIS

LITERARY THEORY: An Introduction. *By Terry Eagleton. University of Minnesota Press. 244 pp. $9.95.*

Terry Eagleton's new book is a concise guide to the most interesting and mystifying trends in the study of literature over the last fifty years. Judging from *Literary Theory*'s positive reception in Britain and now America, it answers a need—and answers it well. But as I read along, I kept imagining a TV ad: "Can't decide between hermeneutical and structural approaches to literature? Embarrassed at parties by your faulty knowledge of deconstructionist or Marxist criticism? Let Terry Eagleton help you through with his handy patent-pending guide to the wonderful world of literary criticism." It is a strange moment in late capitalism when a Marxist guide to literary criticism seems as necessary to middle-class life as a Sony Walkman and an I.B.M. personal computer.

One might point out as a caveat to the general public that Eagleton's history of literary theory is not a disinterested one. As a Marxist, he has axes to grind along with the wares he displays. Rather than presenting a traditional literary history, he begins with the striking and contestable notion that there is no such thing as literature. Rather, he claims, literature and the cult of the literary are ideologies that exalt high cultural artifacts like novels, poems and plays over other forms of writing and representation.

An opening chapter explains that in the nineteenth century, English (as opposed to classical) literature served as a pedagogical tool to civilize and pacify marginal political groups, particularly women and the lower classes. Witness a statement by an early professor of English literature at Oxford:

> England is sick, and . . . English literature must save it. The Churches . . . having failed, and social remedies being slow, English literature has now a triple function: still, I suppose, to delight and instruct us, but also, and above all, to save our souls and heal the State.

Matthew Arnold, among other critics, fostered the idea that literature would civilize the lower classes, particularly since the middle classes "with their narrow, harsh, unintelligent, and unattractive spirit and culture, will almost certainly fail to mould or assimilate the masses below them." State schools teaching English literature would have to do the trick, since, as Eagleton puts it, "English was literally the poor man's Classics." Or, as one Royal Commission report recommended, English was suitable for civilizing "women . . . and the second- and third-rate men who . . . become schoolmasters." As English replaced religion and traditional morality as a means of social control, it became an ideology in itself.

To debunk the myth that literature is an overarching civilizing influence, Eagleton marshalls contemporary critical theories that have focused on the "literariness" of literary works. In explaining those, Eagleton works at a high level of generalization and superficiality—as indeed he must if he is to present all the acts in this circus. The Big Top includes formalism, English and American criticism (Arnold, Leavis and the New Critics), phenomenology, hermeneutics, reception and reader response theory, structuralism, semiotics, post-structuralism and deconstructionism, feminist and psychoanalytic criticism and, of course, Marxist literary theory. We get roughly ten pages of text for each theory, an overview that cannot hope to produce instant enlightenment in all cases. But on the whole, Eagleton is clear and cogent, and the general reader will certainly get some sense of the variety of critical approaches. Short bibliographies provide directions for further study of each theoretical school.

Still, he does present a stacked deck. Each of the methodologies is criticized for the same deficiency—for lacking the historical and materialist approach of Marxist criticism. But for Eagleton, even Marxist theory as it has been practiced is suspect because *all* literary criticism assumes that there is such a thing as literature. But if you recognize that literature is an illusion, as Eagleton suggests, since it is just "a name which people give from time to time for different reasons to certain kinds of writing within a whole field of what Michel Foucault has called 'discursive practices,'" then literary theory must also be an illusion. Consequently, Eagleton suggests that leftists and others should study all types of writing and representation—films, advertisements, textbooks, legal briefs, product warranties and the thousand other natural shocks the signifying system of a culture is heir to.

While Eagleton's proposal cannot be simply dismissed, it is difficult to im-

Lennard J. Davis teaches English at Columbia University and is the author of Factual Fictions *(Columbia University Press).*

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agine that the academic study of all those cultural discourses would result in something more inherently radical than the academic study of literature alone. Under Eagleton's guidance, literature would not have a privileged position, but scholarship still would. Unlike the British, Americans have been studying popular culture for some time without earthshaking results. The Center for the Study of Popular Culture in Bowling Green, Ohio, is a worthy institution, but hardly a storm center of revolution.

Nevertheless, *Literary Theory* can be read without its polemical side as a Cook's tour to the murky underworld of literary criticism. As such, it is as good a guide as Virgil was to Dante. But having gotten into the inferno of theoretical methods, the reader, like Dante, needs something akin to divine intervention to find the right road out. □

Rhymes of a Blue-Blood Red

PAUL BERMAN

COLLECTED POEMS OF JOHN WHEELWRIGHT. *Edited by Alvin H. Rosenfeld. New Directions. 278 pp. $10.*

THE REVOLUTIONARY IMAGINATION: The Poetry and Politics of John Wheelwright and Sherry Mangan. *By Alan M. Wald. University of North Carolina Press. 288 pp. $28.*

John Wheelwright was an obscure poet of the 1920s and 1930s, an upper-class oddball from Boston, an Anglo-Catholic, a Marxist. Among fellow blue bloods, he was famous for crawling under the rug at parties. Among leftists he was famous for arriving at street corner rallies in raccoon coat and dinner clothes and beginning a soapbox speech with, "We, of the proletariat . . ." in Harvard tones. His writings are a bit off-putting, as you might expect of such a person. I started his *Collected Poems* and gave up three minutes later. The poet seemed to have crawled under the rug. But then Peter Schjeldahl published a fascinating essay on Wheelwright in the Sunday *Times* and offered an invaluable tip on how to approach the daunting volume: you must start at page 235. Beginning on that page, the poems display a distinct and comprehensible voice. There's an evocation of a statue of Alexander Hamilton:

> Granite unsharded by the fires of
> revolt,
> granite refined to the subtlety of a
> porcelain goddess of mercy—
> common sense Hamilton!
> Under the elms' sex-partite vaulting,
> opposing the agitation of Washington
> on horseback
> ("Dr. Rimmer's Hamilton on
> Commonwealth Avenue and
> Arlington Street")

There's a fine poem called "Bostor Public Library": "Most beautiful, mos Tuscan, most useless/Public Buildin in America." There's a witty poem i down-east drawl. And as you ski around the book with these poems i mind, others quite as good presen themselves. A war anthem of Whit man's is turned into an antiwar poem A Salvation Army woman loses pa tience and leads the unemployed in riot. An old mare from the last days o the Roman Empire returns from th dead: "I have come back. I comman my Palatine stable open." The hors poem ends with something about "th unconsolating mysteries of my inviolat vagina," which is one of the problem with Wheelwright. He hits som screechingly wrong notes. In one poen he recommends that the selfish bour geois clean out their ears—with ladies hatpins. Ow.

But there's great musicality in hi voice, an intellectual rigor, a broa range of reference and imagination. H makes you think of those slightly olde poets, Eliot and Pound. Wheelwright' political poems are not invariably hi best, but command attention anywa because of the way he expresses Marxis themes with modernist technique. On of his cleverer political poems resemble William Carlos Williams's *Paterson* He's altogether different from anythin we think of in connection with 1930 Marxism, even when he puts a soapbo speech to verse:

> Workers of Hand! Work your brain.
> No more for every well-fed mind,
> need thousands stupify in shrunk,
> sub-human bodies.

Paul Berman writes for The Village Voice. *He is currently working on a book about the radical literary tradition in America.*

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What do you want, who form our
Army?
More bottled mayonnaise? D'y'want
hamburger?
("Redemption")

The Marxism has a jeering tone, much the way Eliot and Pound jeer from the extreme right, and while this may seem unpleasant, it's certainly authentic. An awful lot of 1930s Marxist poetry is revoltingly sentimental, but you can't say that about Wheelwright. He displays a bitter sarcasm worthy of Marx himself. Raccoon coat and all, maybe he was more of a Marxist than the mainstream Marxist poets of his time.

You can read about Wheelwright in a meticulous study by Alan M. Wald, *The Revolutionary Imagination: The Poetry and Politics of John Wheelwright and Sherry Mangan*. The book is helpful and intelligent on Wheelwright's poems and interesting on his politics too, which were antiwar and Trotskyist. (There's a poem comparing Trotsky to Prometheus: "Discoverer and inventor, never let 'em say:/'Human nature cannot change.'") The other subject of the book, Sherry Mangan, was an even more obscure poet, not as talented either, who succeeded, however, in living an extremely romantic life: he was an international correspondent for *Time* by day, a secret agent for the Fourth International by night. Wald is a demon researcher on these topics and thanks more than 250 people for helping with his study, including a Jewish businessman in Argentina who is identified by pseudonym lest the authorities persecute him for his underground Trotskyist guerrilla-aiding activities. Everyone interested in the left-wing literary tradition, not to mention the arcana of global Trotskyism, should be grateful to Wald for this mountain of research. Go get his very unusual book. Get the Wheelwright poems. Start on page 235. □

RICHARD GILMAN ON LEAVE

Richard Gilman, *The Nation*'s theater critic, whose absence this season has been noted and mourned by many readers, has taken a leave to write a book. We regret the break in *The Nation*'s continuous tradition of thoughtful and independent writing on the theater, but Gilman's shoes, like Harold Clurman's, are hard to fill.

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Crossword Puzzle No. 1992

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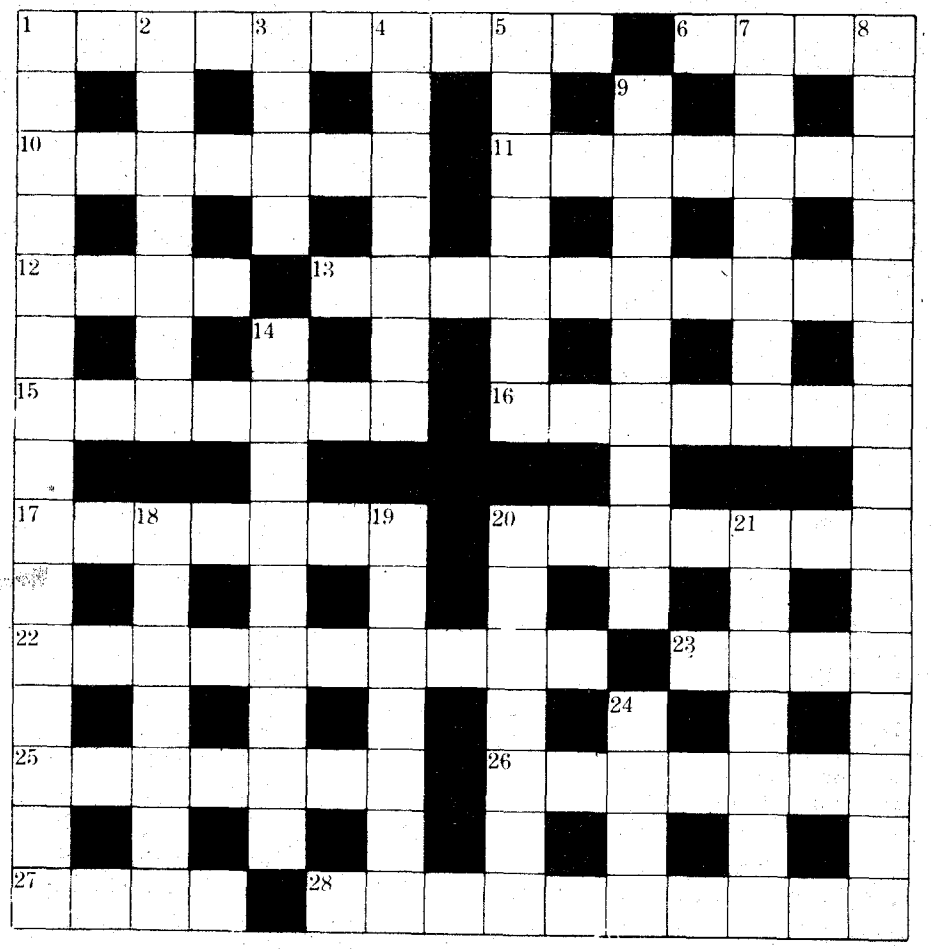

ACROSS

1 Things might be, with everyone acting like a skipper! (No accompanying figures when such.) (10)
6 It should have a certain duration, but this in us would mean the end. (4)
10 Katherine acted like a chirpy little thing! (7)
11 Textbooks responsible for certain reports—you may want to put another coat on, if these have application. (7)
12 They might show resistance as *being nothing* to Pinafore, for example. (4)
13 What have walls beside cathedrals? (Such a squeak is not widely found.) (5,5)
15 Some ideas for what you might find in the ten-cent store? (7)
16 Sort of impress with smirks? (7)
17 A common synonym, strange to Burns next to a tumbledown hut. (7)
20 One that makes you nervous—like a snake? (7)
22 Not meant to identify the writer of *Ma Tante*—more like George Sand. (3,2,5)
23 It's not straight out of this, honest! (4)
25 It's foolish to have the total of primitive instinctive forces add ten to an involuntary response. (7)
26 Possibly can get around a way to make a mistake with a field of operations. (7)
27 A Northerner always has pull! (4)
28 Subtle of Johnson—he was one of these. (When it's calm, he's getting upset!) (10)

DOWN

1 The number of stars traditionally marked by "X"? (7,8)
2 If you find people trying, they might. (7)
3 Neat, like Fundy. (4)
4 Sort of loud when the minor subject of Japanese banking comes up around it, offering some knotty points. (7)
5 Shows up what sounds like porno-rated still shots. (7)
7 Get at a French student about to move up. (7)
8 A disturbance in German streets, as a logical place to find such. (6,9)
9 Eve of the skipper's helper. (5,4)
14 Unruly mounts around some people might be typified by one in Washington. (9)
18 Just the plant for a poet! (It might be how some live outdoors with one on.) (7)
19 The C.I.A. could be confused in a hot spot—such things have a definite twist. (7)
20 The losing wrestler might look for one in the bare mat chosen. (7)
21 The air rises in the last sort—*they might be* catching something. (7)
24 A drink made out of the cuckoo-pint plant. (4)

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No more cross words. If you don't see why "Lures" are "Ground Rules," send for those of Mr. Lewis to *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

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G	R	A	N	A	D	A	■	T	I	T	A	N	I	A
R	■	D	■	D	■	P	S	I	■	O	■	C	■	C
E	L	O	P	E	D	■	P	■	T	R	U	A	N	T
E	■	W	■	M	I	K	A	D	O	S	■	N	■	O
N	A	S	A	■	S	■	G	■	R	■	U	S	E	R
■	■	■	F	A	R	T	H	I	N	G	S	■	■	■
A	U	N	T	■	O	■	E	■	A	■	A	B	E	L
S	■	A	■	E	B	B	T	I	D	E	■	R	■	E
G	A	R	B	L	E	■	T	■	O	N	I	O	N	S
R	■	R	■	A	■	K	I	N	■	S	■	C	■	S
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